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REGIONALISM IN AMERICAN LITERATURE¹

PERHAPS NO TOPIC currently discussed by readers and critics of American literature is more controversial than regionalism. And no commentator on regionalism is more pungent than our own Mr. James Gray of St. Paul. Wittily he writes:

That militantly American doctrine called regionalism, which has tended in recent years to make of local prejudice something vaguely resembling a religion, would probably hold that the heavenly Muse does herself over, with protean variability, each time that she crosses a state line. No doubt the conviction is strong in the true believer's heart that when one of the inspirational sisters finds herself in Minnesota, she wearily gets out her make-up kit and prepares for a lugubrious session celebrating the sorrows of the soil and of the soul. The costume, assigned to the Minnesota Muse, in the regionalist's handbook, is a decent, though shabby, Mother Hubbard. She sings exclusively of ruined wheat harvests and she sings of them with a strong Swedish accent.²

Such a movement, obviously, needs looking into. What is this regionalism; what are its origins; who are its exponents?³

¹ This paper is based on remarks made before a conference of Minnesota teachers of English and school librarians in May, 1938, and over radio station WLB in April, 1939.

² "The Minnesota Muse," in *Saturday Review of Literature*, vol. 16, no. 7, p. 3 (June 12, 1937). This article is not primarily an attack on regionalism, but an exposition of the cosmopolitanism of Minnesota authors.

³ For a vigorous assault on regionalism, see P. R. Beath, "Regionalism Pro and Con: Four Fallacies of Regionalism," in the *Saturday Review*, vol. 15, no. 5, p. 3, 14, 16 (November 28, 1936). Typical defenses of the movement are found in Allen Tate, "Regionalism and Sectionalism," in

With any critic who contends that the greatest literature interprets life in the terms of all humanity rather than the terms of any specific nation, we all agree. We agree also that whatever immortal books have been written in the United States record life in universal terms. Thus *The Scarlet Letter* is an assured masterpiece not so much because Hawthorne presents a brilliant analysis of Puritan character as because he deals with a situation which is understood by readers in every civilized country. And *Moby Dick* is taking its place among world classics, not so much because Melville there tells us all that any lady or gentleman needs know about Yankee whalings, as because he writes a powerful allegory of that terrific battle which we call living.

Authors who cannot reach this high plane of universal appeal may still make themselves useful and even memorable by a humbler service—by recording, as did Hawthorne and Melville in passing, the character, mind, and manners of a people. Such a record, if set down with bias and animus, obviously becomes dangerous: today we need look no farther than the continent of Europe to see the fine arts transformed into weapons for chauvinism and aggression. But when transcripts of the life of a nation are made sanely and critically, they serve well not only that nation but all humanity. In the realm of letters, therefore, a man can be simultaneously a good citizen of the United States and of the world.

the *New Republic*, 69:158-161 (December 23, 1931); Joseph E. Baker, "Regionalism Pro and Con: Four Arguments for Regionalism," in the *Saturday Review*, vol. 15, no. 5, p. 3, 14; Donald Davidson, "Regionalism and Nationalism in American Literature," and Robert Penn Warren, "Dont's for Literary Regionalists," in the *American Review*, 5:48-61, 8:142-150 (April, 1935, December, 1936); and particularly Donald Davidson, *The Attack on Leviathan: Regionalism and Nationalism in the United States* (Chapel Hill, 1938). Invaluable to the student of literary regionalism is a résumé of the historical, geographical, economic, sociological, and aesthetic aspects of the general movement in Howard W. Odum and Harry E. Moore, *American Regionalism* (New York, 1938). Many of the topics presented in this paper are more fully discussed in these articles and books.

How, then, shall this second aim of literature be achieved? How shall American society be put into prose and verse? Most inclusive, of course, is the international approach. A century ago, James Fenimore Cooper, returning from a seven years' residence in Europe, bluntly pointed out the inferiority of American to foreign society in a series of books now long forgotten, and was brutally cudged by the critics. A half century later, Henry James as a resident of Europe did the same thing with infinitely greater skill and suavity, and is now recognized as the most successful of all American exponents of the international point of view. In our own century, Ezra Pound, T. S. Eliot, and various tourists and expatriates carry on the tradition, as frequently with animus as with insight. To study American society as a segment of world civilization is truly illuminating; but it is a task for which few authors have either the necessary endowments or the needed experience. Such a treatment, furthermore, leaves many elements of American character and experience untouched.

A second approach is national. Here again only a few authors possess the necessary breadth of vision. Most successful in the nineteenth century was Walt Whitman, who toiled long and courageously at his portrait of the national spirit. Too honest to reduce that spirit to a single term or a single element, he patiently catalogues different sections and different states, and the numerous varieties and sub-varieties of native character. Although these catalogues are frequently too heterogeneous to move our emotions, occasionally Whitman in heroic ecstasy breathes into them the breath of life and we see America. In our century the task of putting the United States between the two covers of a book has become vastly more difficult, not only through the increased complexity of our life but through the apparent inadequacy of old symbols to express the new age. Such an author as John Dos Passos, therefore, is doubly handicapped by the immensity of the American scene which he

attempts to transcribe in his trilogy, *U.S.A.*, and by the necessity (or so it seems to him) of inventing a new literary technique for that transcript. And it is not difficult to understand how such a poet as Hart Crane, simultaneously wrestling in Whitmanesque manner to find the common denominator of Christopher Columbus and Coney Island, struggling to create new symbols fit to vision forth his concepts of America, and battling in Freudian fashion to free his own soul, should eventually give up the three terrific conflicts and drop quietly overboard—from his steamer, and from life.

It should now be evident that, fruitful as are both the international and the national approach, both are beset by extraordinary difficulties. Today, therefore, an overwhelming majority of authors who seek to portray America are forced, consciously or unconsciously, to choose one or several of the more limited points of view. Here the possibilities are almost infinite, for the United States may be divided horizontally, vertically, or diagonally: by occupations, by emotions, by decades, by race, by what you will. In recent years, for example, an essentially novel and particularly provocative point of view has emerged in proletarianism, with its attempt to split American literature along lines of social cleavage. Equally provocative is regionalism. It commands attention today not as the only or as the best method of recording our life. It is neither. But it is emphatically an approach to be reckoned with and one to which, it appears, native authors will turn more and more frequently in the future.

A backward glance at American literature explains the inevitability of regionalism. The earliest writings on this continent were colonial—the work of English men and English women in a new land which for many generations had little influence on their prose and verse. Once a new nation was born, its citizens vociferously demanded a national literature. When such a literature eventually emerged, it

was the creation of a group of Americans living in a narrow strip of land not many miles wide and barely two hundred and fifty miles long—the strip of Atlantic seacoast from Salem, Massachusetts, to New York City. Irving, Bryant, and Cooper, Emerson, Hawthorne, Thoreau, and Whitman of course drew distinctions between New York and New England; the early Knickerbockers were contemptuous of Yankees and the Brahmins counted themselves definitely superior to mercenary New Yorkers. During the first half of the century, however, regional differences had not yet become acute; Boston was not wholly divorced from Manhattan; the literary capital moved from New York to Boston to New York again; and literature was distinctly and avowedly nationalistic. (I am not forgetting Poe; but I am remembering that, even though his roots strike more deeply into native soil than most observers realize, his characters dwell not in the Southern states but in a world of their own, “out of time, out of space.”) When *Leaves of Grass* and *The Scarlet Letter* and *Walden* were published, the situation here was comparable to that in a European country; regional literature was identical with national literature, for a single region (or, if one prefers, two small and homogeneous regions) produced it all.

During the second half of the century, the picture changed completely. Distinctions between the literature of New England, of New York, and of the South now became sharp and unmistakable. Meanwhile, the Midwest was exploited and the Far West was opened to the world. Thereafter, the emergence of regionalism was only a matter of time. No longer were writers in the East the authentic spokesmen of the entire nation; they were merely the voice of a highly important section. Very naturally, New Englanders were slow to realize and slower to confess this change; during the later decades of the century they erroneously but blandly continued to assume that their writings and American literature are identical. In our century, the delusion is firmly,

and in certain respects disastrously, entrenched in Manhattan, where it is too frequently assumed that when the metropolis writes, America writes. I, for one, am unwilling to accept the utterances of any one region as the utterances of all the states; but if I were forced to adopt such a biased view, I should admit that the diversified writers of New York City, drawn as they are from all points of the compass, may more nearly speak for all America than can the authors of any other section. But, very fortunately, we are not thus restricted; to know America, we now turn to authors in all the states. The literary self-sufficiency of Manhattan, therefore, is today an anachronism, an ill-informed acceptance of the European conception of national literature, or, to speak more frankly, a polished but none the less real provincialism. And an obvious and a major barrier to the normal growth of regionalism is continued subservience to this antiquated New York idea by writers in the hinterland, and their resultant unwillingness to be themselves or to express their own region lest they fail to write in the Manhattan manner.

Before the nineteenth century drew to a close, the newer sections of the republic made themselves heard in what may be described as a prelude to regionalism, that is, in the local color movement. First to capitalize effectively on localisms and sectional peculiarities was Bret Harte on the Pacific coast. Then George Washington Cable, Mary Murfree, Grace King, and James Lane Allen explored the picturesque South, while Sarah Orne Jewett, Mary Wilkins Freeman, and Alice Brown rediscovered New England. The movement was widely popular but it soon declined, because its roots never struck deeply into American life. Professedly realistic, the local colorists were actually superficial and commonly sentimental. They remained on the surface, where they concentrated on the odd, the curious, and the picturesque. They naturally did not survive the emergence of twentieth-century naturalism.

A connecting link between local color and regionalism may be found in the work of Willa Cather, who, I hasten to add, transcends both those movements. As an undergraduate at the University of Nebraska, she came under the spell of Sarah Orne Jewett, who gave her personal advice and counsel and to whom Miss Cather dedicated *O Pioneers*. Here and in others of Miss Cather's early novels appear descriptive passages which do not advance the narrative or illuminate the characters. That is local color. In Miss Cather's middle period, she enlarged her vision to record national rather than sectional scenes, as in *One of Ours* and *The Professor's House*. The majority of our literary critics hailed this change as growth, but others were distressed, fearing that Miss Cather had succumbed to the contemporary American mania for overexpansion and that her canvases were now too large. She apparently agreed with the second group of observers, for her most recent and to my mind her more successful novels are again sharply restricted in setting: *Death Comes for the Archbishop* to the Spanish Southwest and *Shadows on the Rock* to French Canada. To call the author of these novels a regionalist and nothing more would be sadly misleading: she deals with various regions, not one; and she is most deeply concerned with human, not local, values. And yet, in certain aspects of her work, Willa Cather is, in the broadest and best sense of the word, a regionalist; subtract the setting from one of her early or one of her late novels and what is left?

What, then, is this regionalism? It may be identified in the writing of any author by one or more of four characteristics, none of which was dominant in the work of the local colorists of the last century.

First, regionalism is profoundly concerned with both the past and the present. This concern is notably more realistic and rational, less emotional and romantic than was local color. And this interest in earlier days takes the form of a

search for "a usable past," not merely admirable in itself but serviceable for us.

Secondly, regionalism establishes its own organs and its outlets to the public. Occasionally Manhattan publishers are willing to print a distinguished book at a financial loss; but in the main, regional writings are assured of publication in New York only if the publishers are assured of at least an opportunity for profit. A few regional magazines and presses are therefore necessary, to demonstrate constantly to New York that regionalism may be profitable, to subsidize worthy but nonprofit-making works, and to reach local audiences.

Thirdly, regionalism, especially when hard pressed by its foes, develops a program and a platform, becomes a conscious movement, and even attacks its critics.

Finally, regionalism today rarely comes to full expression in literature alone. Rather, literary regionalism is accompanied by and co-operates with parallel trends in the other arts, in history, and in the social sciences. The movement thus possesses vastly more depth and more substance than did local color.

Regionalism appeared earliest and flourishes most vigorously in the South, fortunately "reconstructed but unregenerate." A major center of regionalism is the Carolinas, where conditions are highly favorable for such activity. Here may be observed a concern alike with the past and the present—an interest colored, of course, by local pride but guided by scientists, particularly at Duke University and the University of North Carolina. The movement has many ramifications, including the South Carolina Poetry Society, the North Carolina Folk Lore Society, the South Carolina and especially the North Carolina Historical Society, and vigorous sociological organizations. Ready at hand were outlets for regional writers: the Carolina historical quarterlies, the *South Atlantic Quarterly*, and, near by, the *Virginia Quarterly Review*. Thus sociology, literature,

history, and anthropology have co-operated, centering their activity about Negro folklore and folk culture. It was inevitable that in such an environment, Du Bose Heyward and Julia Peterkin should create distinguished regional novels.

In Tennessee the Nashville group developed, centering about Donald Davidson and John Crowe Ransom (now removed to Ohio). The members of the group appear to have been originally attracted to each other by a common interest in poetry, an interest which came to expression in their journal, *The Fugitive*. Later they found a second point of agreement in their opposition to the industrialization of the South, whereupon they, with the aid of kindred minds in other states, published a vigorous manifesto, *I'll Take My Stand*, by twelve Southerners. This was, in brief, a plea for an enlightened agrarianism in the South. The Nashville group, therefore, was concerned simultaneously with art, economics, and sociology, or, as some might prefer to summarize all three, with the good life.

In the Southwest interesting stimuli to regionalism have appeared. First the section was exploited by Eastern artists, an event in itself calculated to discourage healthy regionalism. Several of the invaders, however, remained, became true citizens of the Southwest, and are now among the authentic interpreters of Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas. Thus the splendor of the Spanish past and the color of the Indian past are contributing to the richness of the American present. A brilliant young editor (now at Princeton University) made the University of Oklahoma Press one of the most successful of all regional outlets, while the *Southwest Review* and other journals freely published the work of local, as well as national, writers.

Through one of the laws promulgated by the late Huey Long, abundant funds are made available to the Louisiana State University for a press, which has particularly distinguished itself by the high quality of one of its publications, the *Southern Review*. Since its able editor, Robert Penn

Warren, prefers to think of the *Review* as Southern rather than Louisianian and even as American rather than Southern, no one can justly describe his quarterly as a mere regional organ. Of regionalism itself, Mr. Warren approves with reservations: "It is not a cure-all," he justly remarks, "and provides the writer no substitute for taste or intelligence."⁴ But the *Southern Review* encourages authorship in the deep South and adds to the literary prestige of that region; and Mr. Warren himself has recently published a brilliant local novel of life in Kentucky. He and the *Review*, then, may be counted among the assets of the regional movement, so long as that movement does not degenerate into a fad.

The Middle West, endowed with no glamorous tradition comparable to that of the South, has capitulated more frequently to the metropolis. Thus Midwesterners have de-rided their homeland for the edification of Manhattan and, incidentally, to the profit and improvement of the Midwest. As the years pass, however, we grow more and more interested in our own modes of life, and occupy ourselves more and more with the history of Middle Western culture and with the directions which it is taking today. And the state which is at the moment most articulate in literature is one for which few observers in the early century would have predicted such achievement, the state which, according to one of its native sons, Ellis Parker Butler, spends twelve dollars for fertilizer every time it spends one dollar for literature—Iowa. In the field of painting, Grant Wood is immortalizing Iowa Gothic both in architecture and in character. Such periodicals as the *Prairie Schooner* and *Midland*, now superseded by *Prefaces*, have encouraged numerous young authors. The State University of Iowa offers elaborate encouragement to young writers. A long and very solid series of sketches, stories, and novels of local life have

⁴ Warren, in *American Review*, 8: 150.

been written in the state. And the best-known of Iowa authors, Ruth Suckow, has developed a theory which should interest regionalists in all parts of the country—the theory that the arts should concern themselves not with folk themes of the past but with “the folks” of our own day.⁵

Finally, an isolated but admirable phenomenon may be observed in Idaho, where, without any extensive movement behind it, a successful local press has established itself. There the Caxton Printers publish the work of Vardis Fisher, of lesser Rocky Mountain authors, and of writers in all parts of the country. This wholesome decentralization of publishing, which must become more common if a balance is to be maintained between region and region, is reminiscent of conditions in the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth century, when every important town had its local printer and practically every printer was a book publisher. It should not be necessary to enumerate the further manifestations of regionalism which have appeared in other parts of the country; the evidence already presented makes the general nature of the movement clear.

There are, it is apparent, regionalists—and regionalists. Three varieties are most evident. First are the pseudo regionalists: sentimentalists who search out the quaint and the picturesque. They may be local people capitalizing on local lore, urbanites amusing themselves among the peasants (we have glanced at this type in the Southwest), or hard-working story writers earning a living from popular and uncritical magazines. These gentry are twentieth-century descendants of the nineteenth-century local colorists. They would be negligible did they not tend to cast disrepute on authentic regionalism and afford critics specious arguments for discrediting the movement.

Then come the propagandists of regionalism: its prophets and its defenders. Their role is at once difficult and

⁵ “The Folk Idea in American Life,” in *Scribner's Magazine*, 88: 245–255 (September, 1930).

unprofitable—difficult because they easily fall into rancor and sectionalism; unprofitable because they commonly till the soil for others but themselves reap only scanty harvest. The pronouncements of these self-conscious regionalists, sometimes more courageous than tactful, are perhaps the major cause for the disfavor with which the term “regionalist” is viewed in many quarters and for the unwillingness of certain authors to be thus labeled. But literature today stands in need of these propagandists; only with their encouragement will authors in every corner of these states venture to speak out, and only after these defenders of the movement have fought its critical battles will artists be left entirely free for creation.

Central to the entire movement are the spontaneous regional artists. They may or may not be aware of their regionalism; it is, in either case, innate and natural rather than calculated or predesigned. Even though certain of them insist that they are no regionalists but metropolitans or Marxians or nationalists or proletarians, each has deep roots in his own region. Their predecessor was Mark Twain. Their company today includes, among others, Ellen Glasgow and Thomas Stribling, William Faulkner and Erskine Caldwell, Elizabeth Roberts, Paul Green and Marjorie K. Rawlings in the South; in the East, Robert Frost, Joseph Hergesheimer and James Boyd, Mary Ellen Chase, James Gould Cozzens, and J. P. Marquand when he chooses to write regional tragedy, Walter Edmunds, John Dos Passos, and the numerous chroniclers of Manhattan (for, in all truth, writers who limit themselves to the boroughs of New York are as truly regional as Julia Peterkin or Ruth Suckow); in the Midwest, Carl Sandburg, Louis Bromfield, Phil Stong, Bess Streeter Aldrich, Dorothy Thomas, Edna Ferber, Albert Halper, and James Farrell; and in the Far West, John Steinbeck, Oliver La Farge, and Robert Cantwell—all authors who not only paint regional manners but achieve, at least momentarily, universal appeal.

And what of Minnesota? We have here no propagandists for regionalism and we need none; the gospel has been fully expounded elsewhere. We have not, but we need, a local organ for the encouragement of young writers and of experimental writers—a modest, even an ephemeral, journal will serve. We have an excellent university press, in no sense merely regional yet always interested in works which concern the Midwest and the Northwest. We have a substantial nucleus of regional novels; the works of the late O. E. Rølvaag, Martha Ostenso, Sinclair Lewis in certain moods, Margaret Culkin Banning, Grace Flandrau, Herbert Krause, and others. And in *Shoulder the Sky*, James Gray has given us an admirable example of the novel which combines local significance with wide appeal—a book primarily cosmopolitan but, if its author will permit me to say so, incidentally regional. We have, it is evident, made a beginning at a literary transcript of the various cultures in our state, but we shall not complete the task until we attain a higher degree of healthy self-knowledge. The exploration of Scandinavian folk lore, the collecting of Indian legends, the recording of the feats alike of the voyageurs and of Paul Bunyan, the reconstruction of local history, and similar investigations conducted by scholars at the University of Minnesota, in the Minnesota Historical Society, and elsewhere, together with such popular undertakings as the WPA state guide to Minnesota have already contributed to our self-education and are beginning to contribute to our literature.

Since regionalism is dangerous only when abused, it is patent that the chief dangers in the growth of self-consciousness in Minnesota will be local prejudice and parochialism. It is on these weaknesses in regionalism rather than its successes that Mr. Gray has commented. Such strictness as his, however, should be encouraged, for no literary movement can come to its finest flowering until its errors are ruthlessly pruned away. And if attempts at such pruning finally fail, if authorship in our state gives itself over to mere localism,

if it is ever suggested that Minnesota authors must all speak with "a strong Swedish accent," we shall then seize our shovels and help Mr. Gray dig the grave of regionalism.

Let us hope, however, that even as wise authors are able to retain their citizenship both in world society and in the United States, so may discreet authors be simultaneously Americans and Midwesterners. As long as the republic of letters remains free, there should be room and a need and an audience for national and for regional writers, for ruralists and for urbanites, for one and for all—provided (and this condition cannot be made too emphatic), provided no one group attempts to impose its ideals and its methods on any other group. Let us listen, then, not to Manhattan alone or to Minnesota alone, but to all these states, each region chanting its own chant with its own voice, and out of them all a chorus rising and blending until, with Whitman, we "hear America singing."

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PETER GARRIOCH AT ST. PETER'S, 1837

CREDIT FOR whatever new light this article may shed upon early Minnesota history should be given to Peter Garrioch, a maternal uncle of the writer. He was born on July 5, 1811, on an island in Lake Winnipeg, where his parents were forced to encamp while on a journey from Norway House to Swan River in the interior of Rupert's Land. An Indian squaw cared for the mother, who with other members of the party continued the journey next morning as if nothing unusual had happened. Peter's mother was Nancy Cook, a daughter of William Hemmings Cook, governor of York Factory under the Hudson's Bay Company, and his wife, Mary. The latter was the youngest daughter of Matthew Cocking, a well-known explorer who traveled to the Blackfoot country from Hudson Bay in 1772-73, and kept an interesting and valuable journal of his trip that is now in the Public Archives of Canada.¹

Following the example of his noted forebear, Peter Garrioch adopted the practice of keeping a diary. Although this record has survived only in fragmentary form, it is nevertheless a document of much interest and value to the historian. The present writer is now engaged in editing for publication this journal, which records experiences in what are now Manitoba, North and South Dakota, Minnesota, Wisconsin, the Missouri country, Illinois, and Ohio, and covers the ten-year period from 1837 to 1847. Extracts from it are quoted in the present article.

Garrioch's journal opens with a day-by-day account of a trip made in 1837 by Red River cart and canoe from the Red River settlement at Fort Garry to St. Peter's at the

¹ Peter Garrioch married Margaret McKenzie, eldest daughter of Kenneth McKenzie, the famous fur trader who organized the upper Missouri outfit of the American Fur Company, built Fort Union, and was widely known as the "King of the Missouri."

junction of the Minnesota and Mississippi rivers. The diarist left "old Orkney Cottage," the family home on the Red River near Middlechurch, on June 14 with a party composed of both traders and emigrants. Among its members were some of the hardy Scotch folk who founded the "Scotch Grove" settlement in Iowa. Garrioch, who had been employed as a teacher in an Anglican school for boys at St. John's, now a part of Winnipeg, started south in 1837 in search of higher education, with a view to entering the ministry of the Anglican church. All proceeded as far as Fort Snelling, where, after various interesting experiences, they arrived safe at 2:00 P. M. on July 27, just forty-three days after leaving Fort Garry.

Big things, which engrossed the diarist's attention, were then on foot at Fort Snelling. These were the negotiations between the United States government and the Chippewa of Minnesota, which resulted in the treaty of 1837. Garrioch describes the proceedings as follows:

July 27. Thursday. . . . The American Government were in the act of forming a treaty with the Chippewas of the Mississippi. The delegate appointed to conduct the operation was Governor [Henry] Dodge of the Wisconsin Territory. I spent the greater part of this day in listening to the remarks of the Governor, and to the eloquent speeches of the Chippewa chieftains.

July 28. Friday. Spent the greater part of this day also at the place of treating, which was a shade previously erected for this purpose. Several lengthy and most eloquent harangues were delivered by two or three of the principal chiefs during the treaty. The rest of the chiefs, about twenty in number, did not appear to take any part in the way of speaking, but spent their time in consulting with each other, and dictating to those who addressed the Governor and the Assembly.

The land to be purchased from the Chippewas, amounting to about a million and a half acres, was valued at \$800,000; out of which \$100,000 was to be received by the Chippewa half-breeds, and \$70,000 by the American Fur Company, for old debts due by the nation to that Company. The remainder, after the above deduction, was, according to the treaty, to be paid to the Chippewas concerned in twenty installments, covering twenty years.

The treaty, by which the Chippewa ceded to the United States a large tract of land between the St. Croix and the Mississippi, was signed on Saturday, July 29. In his entry for the following Tuesday, August 1, Garrioch again refers to the treaty:

The last of the provisions allowed by Government to the Chippewa, during the treaty, was given out to-day. The whole allowance, I understood, was to be 100 barrels of Indian corn, 60 barrels of pork and 60 barrels of flour; the pork weighing, each barrel, 256 lbs., and the flour and Indian corn, each barrel, 196 lbs.

Unfortunately, Garrioch did not take advantage of the opportunity to give a more detailed picture of the twelve hundred Indians who, according to Major Lawrence Taliaferro, the Indian agent at Fort Snelling, had assembled for the treaty.²

The St. Peter's settlement to which Garrioch went in the summer of 1837 included a number of small settlements about the mouth of the Minnesota, or St. Peter's, River. Chief among them was the little hamlet now known as Mendota, across the Minnesota from Fort Snelling. When a cart caravan left the Red River settlement for the south, its stated destination was not Fort Snelling, but St. Peter's, where were located the headquarters of the American Fur Company. As Garrioch uses the term, it embraces the entire group of hamlets at the mouth of the Minnesota. He himself lived in the Baker settlement; yet he speaks of having spent the winter at St. Peter's, and it is to St. Peter's that he bids farewell when he leaves in the spring.³

According to Garrioch, the settlements about the mouth of the Minnesota River consisted of a number of small hamlets peopled by French, Swiss, Swedes, Indians, half-breeds of various nationalities, and a sprinkling of English-speaking Americans and Canadians, with an occasional Negro. The

² Return I. Holcombe, *Minnesota in Three Centuries*, 2:278 (New York, 1908).

³ Garrioch Journal, May 2, 1838. The term "St. Peter's" is sometimes used in the general sense in the present article.

largest of these scattered groups was, of course, the Fort Snelling garrison, which might be regarded as the center of the settlement. Captain Martin Scott of the Fifth United States Infantry was the commanding officer when Garrioch arrived in July, 1837, but he was replaced a month later by Captain Joseph Plympton of the same regiment.⁴ Prominent among the buildings at Mendota across the river was the home of Henry Hastings Sibley, then in charge of the American Fur Company's post and afterward a leading figure in the affairs of Minnesota and the Northwest. The trading post was at the southern terminal of an important land route from Pembina and Fort Garry to the United States—a route that crossed the Minnesota River at Traverse des Sioux and followed the south bank of the stream to its mouth. The traders there naturally had the first chance to obtain the rich peltries arriving from the North. It was there that most of those who traveled from Fort Garry with Garrioch first stopped on their arrival; although he himself, with a few companions, came down by canoe from Little Rock, and landed first at Fort Snelling. These companions, the "Messers Lindsey, Norton, Willson and Rogers," upon arriving at the fort, "hired themselves in the service of speculators," and Garrioch saw them no more. And it may be added here, that the present writer has never been able to identify them or trace their subsequent movements.

Next in importance to the fort and Mendota was another settlement, about a mile to the northwest of the garrison, known as Camp Coldwater, or the Baker settlement. It occupied the site of Colonel Henry Leavenworth's old summer cantonment. There were the trading headquarters of Benjamin F. Baker, a well-known independent trader. Not far away on the Mississippi was Massie's Landing, where there seems to have been another small group. On the

⁴Richard W. Johnson, "Fort Snelling from Its Foundation to the Present Time," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 8:430.

Mississippi also, on the present site of South St. Paul, was Kaposia, the village of Little Crow, one of a famous line of Sioux chiefs. A new Methodist mission was just getting under way at Kaposia, with the Reverend Alfred Brunson in charge. Connected with the mission as a teacher and farmer was David King, with whom Garrioch had many friendly visits, and of whom he thought very highly.

A number of individual settlers also were scattered over the St. Peter's area. Most of them hailed from the British Selkirk colony on the lower Red River in the neighborhood of the present Winnipeg. In 1823 and 1826, groups of these colonists, discouraged by floods, grasshoppers, and other unfavorable conditions in the Red River settlement, left for the United States and went to St. Peter's. Some of them settled there, and others found at least temporary refuge on the virgin lands of the Fort Snelling military reservation.⁵

In October, 1837, a few months after Garrioch arrived, Lieutenant E. K. Smith drafted a map of the Fort Snelling area and "took a census of the white inhabitants, exclusive of the garrison." According to his estimate,

The white inhabitants in the vicinity of the Fort were found to number 157. On the Fort Snelling side, in what was called Baker's settlement, around the old Camp Coldwater and at Massie's Landing, were eighty-two; on the south side of the Minnesota, including those at the Fur Company's establishments presided over by Sibley, Alex. Faribault and Antoine La Claire, were seventy-five. Seven families were living opposite the Fort, on the east bank of the Mississippi. . . . Lieutenant Smith reported that the settlers had "nearly 200 horses and cattle."⁶

After the excitement of the treaty-making was over, Garrioch went out to visit the Reverend Jedediah D. Stevens, who had charge of a Sioux mission on Lake Harriet, in the present city of Minneapolis. Stevens, who was preparing

⁵ William W. Folwell, *A History of Minnesota*, 1:215-217 (St. Paul, 1921).

⁶ Folwell, *Minnesota*, 1:218; Holcombe, *Minnesota in Three Centuries*, 2:81.

to go to New York City in connection with his missionary operations, was much in need of help. Until he should return, Garrioch consented to remain at the mission as general roustabout. The diarist has a great deal to say about the Lake Harriet mission, the Stevens family, and his experiences during the three and a half months of his sojourn at the mission. In connection with his duties there, he made frequent trips to Fort Snelling, and he soon became familiar with the principal people doing business in the neighborhood, and with the more important natural features and evidences of human activity in the vicinity.

In his entry for Sunday, September 3, Garrioch tells of accompanying Dr. Thomas S. Williamson, a missionary from Lac qui Parle, to Fort Snelling. Williamson, who was visiting the Lake Harriet mission, conducted religious services at the garrison that morning. Garrioch comments that "the congregation was very small, but the sermon was very good."

While returning from a visit to the Kaposia mission, on November 16, 1837, Garrioch examined a great natural wonder within the present limits of the city of St. Paul. Although he was told that this was Carver's Cave, it was probably the equally beautiful Fountain Cave, located a few miles farther up the river. It was often confused with the more famous Carver's Cave, which at this time was almost closed by limestone and debris that had fallen from the face of the bluff in which it is located. Garrioch describes his visit to the cave as follows:

On returning this morning with Mr. King from a visit to his Mission, I had the exquisite pleasure of witnessing one of the grandest and most majestic spectacles I ever laid my eyes upon. This was the celebrated and far-famed Carver's Cave. To such an one as myself, there is always something peculiarly enticing and enchanting in such specimens of Mother Nature's handiwork. As a matter of course, on this and on a subsequent occasion, I could not be satisfied without penetrating as far into the bowels of this subterranean vault as circumstances would allow. I proceeded from the entrance with one solitary companion, taking the lead myself, till our torches, either from the

rarified state of the atmosphere or from some other cause, refused to sustain and protract their united effulgence. We were, of course, left in blackness of darkness, and, being now at least 250 yards from the mouth of the cavern, it was not without some difficulty, and a little anxiety once more to behold the Sun, that we effected our escape from the gloomy and direful abode of spectres, hobgoblins, and other sweet and tender creatures of fancy.

The width of this beautiful cave, at the entrance, was about 30 feet, and its height 18 feet. Upon entering it, we were introduced into a spacious concave apartment; and, upon proceeding, we discovered several others, intercepted only by narrow passages formed by the force of the stream of water running through the cave and washing away the sand from between the contiguous and more consolidated rocks. The apartments diminish in size, however, as they approach the head or termination of the cavern.

The water running through the cave, and which doubtless has brought it to its present form, is a beautiful, crystal stream, and as pleasant to the taste as any water I ever tasted. The sand, with which the walls are in a great measure lined, is the best specimen that has ever come under my notice. Both to the sight and to the touch, there is no small affinity between it and wheat flour run through a moderately coarse sieve.

Report says, that a soldier and two Indians formerly penetrated so far into this cave that they were never heard of any more. This report is only for children and old women who wish to have something to talk about. I said to myself, it is more than probable that they fell into some gulf and were immediately metamorphosed into sturgeon, or some other fish, as it was with Weesukachak in days of old, when he was thrown into the midst of the water and cried out, "Let me be a sturgeon!"

On October 11, the diarist had his first view of the famous Falls of St. Anthony. He records his impressions in the following terms:

I had the pleasure of seeing for the first time, today, the celebrated falls of St. Anthony. I must say, however, that I was very much disappointed. They indeed present a pleasant view to the eye of a stranger, or to him who has never heard anything more of them than the name; but to one who has been accustomed to hear them spoken of in a manner calculated to awaken curiosity, and comes hither with high expectations, it is inevitable that they should prove a disappointment. The fall of water may be from ten to fifteen feet, and the precipice over which they fall extends over the entire breadth of the river. These falls are altogether too little to be considered grand, and too large to be considered beautiful. The greatest satisfaction I enjoyed in visiting the falls, and what I considered most worthy of

admiration, was the various and brilliant hues the waters assumed while tumbling, and, as it were, sporting themselves over the edge of the precipice.

While he was at the falls, Garrioch examined the sawmill erected by soldiers from Fort Snelling in 1821-22. "Here also to-day," he writes, "I first saw a water sawmill. My curiosity being highly excited, I took pleasure in examining the ingenious invention. When I had arrived at the close of my investigations, I had the conceit to think I could construct one." On this same excursion, Garrioch visited the famous Minnehaha Falls, then known locally as the Little Falls, or Brown's Falls, of which he says: "I should have stated that there is a little cascade of about fifteen or twenty feet in breadth, with a fall of water of about thirty or thirty-five feet, two miles north-west of Ft. Snelling, which is highly beautiful and engaging."

Judging from the entries in his diary, Garrioch was not very happy at the Lake Harriet mission. But he had promised to remain until Stevens returned and he resolved to make the best of it. The keeping of that promise, however, thwarted the diarist's cherished plan of going south by steamboat to some place of higher learning before the river froze. Unfortunately, Stevens returned on the last boat of the season, which arrived at Fort Snelling on November 10. When he reached Lake Harriet, he told Garrioch that the boat would be leaving in two or three hours, for there was grave danger that it would be caught in the ice so late in the season. So there Garrioch was, seven and a half miles from the boat landing, night coming on, and without a conveyance to take him and his luggage to the fort. His feelings that night are expressed in his diary:

O what a disappointment! Here is cross upon cross; but if it be the Lord's will I am quite reconciled. I did not know what to do. I sometimes thought of taking my trunk on my back and setting off. Being obliged to submit to Fate, I retired to bed with a leaden heart, and, after musing a while on my sad disappointment, I embarked for the Land of Nod.

"Not being able to reconcile my mind to Mr. Stevens' Yankee notions, I concluded to seek for another home," writes Garrioch on November 15. "With this in view, I went down the following day to the Methodist Mission at the Little Crow village." He hoped that he might learn of a late boat on which he might still go south. When he received little encouragement, he decided to remain for the winter and make the best of it. In making this decision, he was influenced also by Martin McLeod, then a trader in Baker's employ, with whom he had discussed his predicament on the previous day at Camp Coldwater.

According to Garrioch's entry of November 15,

The prospect [of getting down the river] appearing very doubtful, from the advanced period of the season, I readily made up my mind to improve the kindness which Mr. McLeod had proposed on the preceeding day; that is, of keeping a school at Mr. Baker's premises. Accordingly, after securing the unanimous consent of McLeod, King and others, I concluded to teach the school, for the magnificent consideration of 50 dollars and my board for the long period of 6 months.

It is possible that Garrioch knew McLeod before they met at Fort Snelling, as the latter spent two months at the Red River settlement in the winter of 1836-37, when Garrioch was teaching there. A common interest in books and education almost certainly would have drawn the two men together. The proposal that Garrioch open a school is an early evidence of McLeod's interest in education, for in 1849 he became the author of the "Act to establish and maintain Common Schools" in Minnesota which was passed by the first territorial legislature.

Garrioch's somewhat humorous entry of December 1 reveals that the school actually was established:

Opened my school on the heterogenous system. The whole number of brats that attended, for the purpose of being benefited by my notions, on my philosophical plan, amounted to thirty. This number was composed of English, French, Swiss, Swedes, Crees, Chippewas, Sioux and Negro extraction. Such a composition, and such a group of geniuses, I never saw before. May it never be my privilege to meet with such another. It staggered my gifts, talents, and all the

powers of "me sowl" to keep up with the brights. I question whether an antiquarian of the most celebrated longevity ever existed, from old Methusalum down to Her Highness the Queen of Old England, who could produce a specimen of such dolts and dunderheads as were clustered together in my school. Birds of a feather flock together!

Thus was organized and opened what seems to have been the first public school supported by local funds in the neighborhood of what are now the cities of St. Paul and Minneapolis.

There are only a half dozen more brief entries in this section of Garrioch's journal. They deal with the experiences of the succeeding winter months, but in none of them does the writer refer to the subsequent doings of the "dolts and dunderheads" under his care. That the school operated for not longer than five months is indicated by his final entry, dated May 2, 1838, in which he says: "After spending an easy but somewhat dreary and unpleasant winter at St. Peter's . . . I made arrangement with the Captain of a steamboat, which arrived the evening before, for a passage to the Prairie . . . and in 24 hours I found myself on the banks and shore at Prairie du Chien."

Garrioch visited St. Peter's again in 1840 and in 1844. Of the latter trip, which took him as far as Galena, he left a complete journal. There, in his entry for July 11, 1844, he makes his first mention of the settlement that was to become the Minnesota capital: "Arrived at St. Peter's. Went down to St. Paul's and took up lodgings with one [Henry] Jackson." But that is another story.

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FREDRIKA BREMER: TRAVELER AND PROPHET

THE RECENT VISITS to Minnesota of various members of the Scandinavian royal houses remind one that the Old World has long been interested in the colonies and settlements across the Atlantic and that a whole procession of travelers has come to view the success of the emigrants. One of the most distinguished of these visitors early predicted a magnificent future for the Scandinavians of the Mississippi Valley, that "future home of more than two hundred and seventy-five millions of people." Indeed, she exclaimed, "What a glorious new Scandinavia might not Minnesota become! Here would the Swede find again his clear, romantic lakes, the plains of Scania rich in corn, and the valleys of Norrland; here would the Norwegian find his rapid rivers. . . . The Danes might here pasture their flocks and herds, and lay out their farms on richer and less misty coasts than those of Denmark." The very mythology of the homeland she transplanted to the great river, where the joys of Valhalla would not be wanting "in the New Vineland of the vine-crowned islands of the Mississippi, and the great divine hog Schrimmer has nowhere such multitudes of descendants as in the New World." Many parts of America evoked enthusiastic responses from this Swedish lady, but nowhere else did she envisage such prosperity for the Scandinavian emigrants; to her none of the American states had "a greater or a more beautiful future before them than Minnesota."¹

Three years before she actually arrived in the United States Fredrika Bremer wrote to an anonymous American thanking him for a book which she had recently received

¹ Fredrika Bremer, *The Homes of the New World; Impressions of America*, 2: 56, 57, 120 (New York, 1853).

and acknowledging his friendly invitation to visit the New World.² The letter, hitherto unpublished, is worth quoting in part.

To your gift you have also joyed a most friendly invitation. I sincerely hope to be so happy once to say you personally my thanks for it. It has long been a wish of my heart to visit America and to see with my own eyes that new, rising world. Indeed there is no foreign land in the world that I wish to know out of North America and that especially for the peculiar turn of mind of its people and its management of life in public as in private life, in the state, the home, in society and in Nature.

Here are revealed both Miss Bremer's fumbling command of English idiom and her early desire to cross the Atlantic. Obviously she had long turned her thoughts westward.

Early in October, 1849, Fredrika Bremer landed in New York City, but she did not immediately travel toward the Scandinavian settlements. The fame of a new country and the welcome of its citizens claimed her attention, and before she finally boarded a lake steamer for Chicago she had spent the good part of a year along the Atlantic seaboard and in the South. Even then it was difficult to evade the hospitality of such intimate friends as Andrew Downing and James Russell Lowell and his brilliant young wife Maria.³ The Lowells accompanied her westward to Niagara Falls; from there she proceeded alone.

Miss Bremer reached Chicago early in September, 1850, and found a miserable and ugly city which in her estimation resembled a huckstress rather than a queen. But the prairies, which she saw at the very periphery of the city, were

² Letter written from Årsta, October 23, 1846, in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society. It probably was written to Andrew J. Downing.

³ Downing, now recognized as the father of American landscaping, was Miss Bremer's first host in the United States. "Fredrika Bremer stayed three weeks with us," Lowell wrote to a friend, "and I do not like her, I love her. She is one of the most beautiful persons I have ever known — so clear, so simple, so right-minded and -hearted, and so full of judgment." C. E. Norton, ed., *Letters of James Russell Lowell*, 1:174 (New York, 1894).

quite something else. Rapturously she described the great sea of grass with its birds and flowers and undulating horizon. The occasional log cabin marking a settler's pre-emption was a bird's nest floating on a sea. Sunflowers reached skyward four yards and more. To the astonished visitor the prairie was a sight less common and more magnificent than Niagara itself.⁴

After a brief pause in Milwaukee, where she was lionized in the fashion which she had come to anticipate in American cities, she spent a day at Pine Lake, Wisconsin, which, although one of the first Swedish settlements in the West, had even then shrunk to a mere half dozen families. Nevertheless, she was given a royal welcome, and the thrill of hearing her own tongue spoken freely and of once more seeing familiar customs was ample compensation for all the rigors of travel. When she and the blacksmith danced the "Nigar Polka" together, electrifying the small gathering, her cup of joy was complete.⁵ It is not hard to picture in this setting the amiable lady whom Hawthorne deemed worthy to be the maiden aunt of the whole human race.

Before Miss Bremer could board a Mississippi steamboat for the journey to St. Paul a long arduous stage ride to Galena was necessary. On its completion she was thankful that she was still sound in body and limbs and felt positive that the worst feature of her western trip was over: "no one could possibly perform that uneasy journey through Wisconsin without having something to remember as long as he lived." After a short stopover at Galena occasioned by steamboat schedules, she boarded the "Nominee" on October 12, 1850. Among the passengers were Henry Hastings Sibley and Mrs. Sibley on a return journey from Washington, where he served in Congress as territorial delegate from Minnesota.

The voyage up the Mississippi in October gave as much

⁴ *Homes of the New World*, 1:601-603.

⁵ *Homes of the New World*, 1:617-626.

pleasure to Miss Bremer as it has given to countless other travelers. Particularly was she delighted with the purity of the water, for she had come to consider the river as a giant like the titans of old, strong but somewhat defiled. "Here its waters were clear, of a fresh, light-green color, and within their beautiful frame of distant violet-blue mountains, they lay like a heavenly mirror, bearing on their bosom verdant, vine-covered islands, like islands of the blest." As the boat crept northward she alternately praised the rocky hills which hemmed in the valley and the vegetation which covered their slopes, particularly the tangled network of vines everywhere fruitful. Indeed the steamboat trip was too short for her eager eyes; she wished that it might last eight days.⁶

The "Nominee" reached St. Paul late in the afternoon of October 17. To Miss Bremer the trip had been extremely pleasant; she not only thought six dollars an unusually low price for the comforts of her passage but she appreciated the courtesy of Captain Orrin Smith and the novelty of the scenery. She felt especially obligated to Sibley, "a clever, kind man, and extremely interesting to me from his knowledge of the people of this region, and their circumstances." He explained to her many of the peculiarities of the Sioux and often when passing an Indian village he would utter a wild cry, which invariably drew an exulting response from the shore. At the wharf the visitor was met by Governor and Mrs. Alexander Ramsey, who immediately extended to her their hospitality. Thus the Ramsey home became Miss Bremer's headquarters during her week's stay in Minnesota, and Ramsey himself acted as a kind of cicerone.⁷

⁶ *Homes of the New World*, 1:651; 2:3, 4, 16, 17, 21.

⁷ *Homes of the New World*, 2:19, 22, 25; *Minnesota Pioneer* (St. Paul), October 17, 1850; Ramsey Diary, October 17, 1850. The Minnesota Historical Society has a copy of the Ramsey Diary.

She religiously saw all the places of interest. The day following her arrival she accompanied her host to the Falls of St. Anthony, but found them like the cascade of a great milldam. "River, falls, country, views, every thing here has more breadth than grandeur," she records. The visitors then called upon Mrs. John W. North, who lived on Nicollet Island, and to reach whose house it was necessary to cross a jam of pine logs lying in the water above the milldam. Miss Bremer was at first terrified by the prospect, but eventually made the crossing and was rewarded by finding a cultural oasis above the rapids, a home filled with music and books and pictures. Mrs. North entertained her guests with vocal and instrumental music, but when Fredrika Bremer was asked to sing she declined, saying, "I only sing for God in the church, and for little children." Ramsey wrote in his diary that evening that Miss Bremer had remarked gentleness of manner as a characteristic of the Americans, but observed also in them a great energy of purpose and will which made them less pleasing than the English.⁸

Other places to which the Swedish author was introduced included Fort Snelling, Fountain Cave, and the Little Falls—more familiar to a later generation as Minnehaha Falls—which she found elusively lovely and worthy of their own song. "The whitest of foam, the blackest of crags, the most graceful, and, at the same time, wild and gentle fall! Small things may become great through their perfection." Sunday morning, October 20, she and Mrs. Ramsey attended services in the Presbyterian church at St. Paul and heard the Reverend Edward D. Neill preach, and later in the day Miss Bremer accompanied the governor on a stroll along the bluffs back of St. Paul, appreciating the warmth of

⁸ *Homes of the New World*, 2:27, 32; Ramsey Diary, October 18, 1850; Mrs. Rebecca Marshall Cathcart, "A Sheaf of Reminiscences," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 15:532.

Indian summer and the glorious colors of autumn. She apparently also visited the dalles of the St. Croix River, for an eyewitness recorded later that on looking into the great gorge of the stream she exclaimed, "One of God's beauteous spots of earth." Another interesting incident of her stay in Minnesota is her meeting with a Danish merchant, Dr. Charles W. W. Borup, who had made a small fortune out of furs and had married a woman with Indian blood.⁹

But whatever the original object of Fredrika Bremer's visit to the Northwest may have been, there is little doubt that her chief interest was the Indians. She observed the savages, their physique, bearing, dress, their dwellings and manner of life, their sports and ceremonies, the condition of their women. And through the intervention of Ramsey she got more than one Indian to pose for her so that she could carry away with her sketches to complement her verbal pictures.

This interest in the red man she manifested almost as soon as she commenced her river trip. On board the "Nominee" were several Indians, a Winnebago family of three and two young Sioux warriors. The latter especially caught her attention, as they reminded her of parading roosters. "They strut about now and then, and look proud, and then they squat themselves down on their hams, like apes, and chatter away as volubly as any two old gossips ever did." She observed also their hawk's bill noses and the hard, inhuman glance of the eyes, like that of a bird of prey scenting its quarry from afar. Three miles below

⁹ Ramsey Diary, October 20, 1850; *Homes of the New World*, 2:54, 55, 58; William H. C. Folsom, "History of Lumbering in the St. Croix Valley," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 9:315. Folsom, incidentally, misdates Miss Bremer's visit by a year. Borup settled in St. Paul in 1848; he died, one of its wealthiest citizens, in 1859. John H. Stevens remembered Miss Bremer's enthusiasm for the picturesque scenery along the Mississippi and for the radiance of the autumn coloring. See his *Personal Recollections of Minnesota and Its People*, 90 (Minneapolis, 1890).

St. Paul she noticed the Sioux village of Kaposia, with its twenty wigwams and the log house of the missionary, Dr. Thomas S. Williamson. And the streets of the infant city, she declared, swarmed with Indians fantastically painted and ornamented with an utter lack of taste. "Here comes an Indian who has painted a great red spot in the middle of his nose; here another who has painted the whole of his forehead in small lines of yellow and black; there a third with coal-black rings round his eyes. All have eagles' or cocks' feathers in their hair, for the most part colored, or with scarlet tassels of worsted at the ends." In general, she thought, the women wore less paint and showed better taste than the men; also they seemed less rigid and more humane. But the women were obviously the beasts of burden for their husbands.

Fredrika Bremer was interested almost as much in sketching as she was in writing, and she took back with her to Sweden portraits of Longfellow, Emerson, and other celebrities whom she had induced to pose. She was extremely eager to draw some of the Indians from life, and with this purpose in mind she visited several tepees, "four very respectable Indian huts" close to Fort Snelling. Governor Ramsey and an interpreter accompanied her, and the group spent a full day at the St. Peter's Indian agency. Miss Bremer was rather surprised to find, not the dirt and poverty which she had anticipated, but a rude oriental splendor, blankets in profusion, showy cushions, pipes, and of course the implements of hunting. She sampled the thin soup which was simmering in a huge kettle, a flavorless broth without salt, and she ate a cake which the squaw had just baked and pronounced it excellent.¹⁰

Shortly after, she persuaded an old chief to become her

¹⁰ *Homes of the New World*, 2: 20, 24, 26, 34; Ramsey Diary, October 22, 1850.

model, although he grumbled at being painted without his ceremonial regalia; and when she had finished this sketch she drew a young Indian woman who appeared attired in her wedding finery. Feather Cloudwoman, the name of Miss Bremer's subject, was apparently of unusual beauty, and her remarkably light coloring, magnificent eyes, and modest carriage made a deep impression on the artist. But her general difficulty in getting models she attributed to the Indian belief that a likeness on paper subtracts from the life span of the person delineated.¹¹

Miss Bremer's experiences with the Indians naturally led her to reflect on their condition, especially that of the women. An ardent feminist herself, she thought often of the subjection of the Indian squaw and the degradation of a life from which the only escape was suicide. Winona and Ampato Sapa, both of whom killed themselves rather than submit to domestic ignominy, exemplified most clearly to her the deeply tragic life of the savage women. The only advantage which she perceived in the Indian's existence was freedom from the artificial bonds and prohibitions of society, a liberty which her own experiences had taught her to value highly.

One of the last events of Miss Bremer's stay in Minnesota was a medicine dance in which about a hundred Indians participated, dancing to the unmelodious music of drums and gourds and shaking silver bells violently as they performed their saltations. Such an experience led her to reflect on the religious life of the red man, and for the edification of her invalid sister at Årsta she put together what she had seen and learned of Indian theology. Always a conscientious traveler, Miss Bremer made every attempt to learn the history and ideology of the people among whom she traveled, but one suspects that in regard to the Indians

¹¹ *Homes of the New World*, 2: 38-40.

her attention was chiefly that of the artist, focused on the picturesque and the novel. At any rate when her stay had drawn to a close she confessed her unwillingness to depart. "I wish to see more of the Indians," she wrote home, "and their way of life, and feel something like a hungry person who is obliged to leave a meal which he had just commenced."¹²

Contemporary accounts of her visit reveal the pleasure which she gave as well as received during her residence as Governor Ramsey's guest. The *Minnesota Pioneer* of October 24 expressed its gratification that so distinguished a person as the Swedish author had come to Minnesota to see this "Stockholm of America."

Though far away from her native land, she is not a stranger to us, for she is one of those individuals whom all lands love to claim, and whose birth place is soon forgotten, because her presence is felt everywhere. Her manners are natural and her expressions candid. Unlike those literary women, whom Byron hated, and called "Blue Stockings," she makes no display, and loves not to talk about her own productions, but desires to place herself, in the attitude of a learner.

The *Pioneer* then proceeded to compare her literary work, invariably revealing a sound and pure mind, with the productions of Eugene Sue and that brazen amazon, George Sand; and closed its editorial account by expressing regret that Miss Bremer felt obliged to leave Minnesota for the dark pine forests and tranquil lakes of Sweden. Similarly, the *Minnesota Chronicle and Register* of October 21 declared its appreciation of the visitor.

We only regret that she should have delayed her visit until the frost has seriously marred the beauty of our landscapes. But we are assured that she, nor any other true lover of the beautiful, will ever regret a visit to Minnesota, at any season of the year, always excepting the last of March and first week of April.

When the "Nominee" departed for Galena on October 25, 1850, the paper praised her fulsomely. "Miss Bremer, by

¹² *Homes of the New World*, 2:36, 44, 58.

her kind cordiality and simplicity of manner, made many friends while here, and she has the best wishes of our community for health, happiness and prosperity."¹³

As the steamboat forged down the Mississippi Fredrika Bremer must often have thought of the land which she envisaged as a new home for her emigrant countrymen, and many allusions in her later writings bespeak the deep impression which Minnesota made upon her. Writing from near St. Louis to her friend Andrew Downing on November 11, 1850, she said:

Well, I have been among the Savages since last I wrote to you, have seen them by their fires, in their "Tipis," seen their graves and strange life, and when we meet I shall show you sketches of and speak more about them. I have also seen the scenery on the upper Mississippi, its high bluffs crowned with autumn-golden oaks, and rocks like ruined walls and towers, ruins from the times when the Megatherium and mastodons walked the earth, — and how I did enjoy it!

And she repeated her prophecy that the valley of the Mississippi would some day provide a livelihood for millions of people, asking questions of heaven and earth about futurity.¹⁴

Fredrika Bremer was neither the first nor the last of the Swedish visitors to the United States.¹⁵ But in a rare degree she combined literary grace and skill with the power to observe and the energy to see. Extremely fortunate in her translator Mary Howitt, she saw her book on America published in London and New York almost as soon as it appeared in Sweden; and her already large audience in the

¹³ *Minnesota Chronicle and Register* (St. Paul), October 28, 1850; Ramsey Diary, October 25, 1850. The *Chronicle and Register* for November 4 contains a long appreciation of Jenny Lind written by Miss Bremer; the *Pioneer* for October 24 reprints an obituary notice of President Taylor which Miss Bremer had written for the eastern papers.

¹⁴ Adolph B. Benson, ed., "Fredrika Bremer's Unpublished Letters to the Downings," in *Scandinavian Studies*, 11: 192 (May, 1931).

¹⁵ See for example Roy W. Swanson, "Fredrika Bremer's Predecessors," in *Swedish-American Historical Bulletin*, 1: 53-62 (March, 1928).

United States was multiplied by the general interest in her volumes of travel. Judged by the candid and forthright accounts of more recent travelers, Miss Bremer's *Homes of the New World*—her chief claim to immortality—may seem somewhat prolix and dull; but her observations will always retain a historical value and her prediction of a new Scandinavia in Minnesota will not soon be forgotten. An astute and careful traveler who was preoccupied with social and economic conditions, she chronicled whatever she saw, and interest in her work has not lagged despite the fact that it is almost a century ago that the America fever was raging high.

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THE NORTHAMPTON COLONY AND CHANHASSEN

ON APRIL 19, 1853, some seventy-five settlers from Massachusetts, members of the Northampton Colony, arrived in St. Paul on the steamboat "Time and Tide."¹ A few days later a group of these colonists left for Lake Minnetonka on an exploring expedition which resulted in the permanent settlement of ten or fifteen of them in what came to be Chanhassen Township in Carver County. The exploring party was gone from April 25 to 28, and soon the men were building a road to their claims and erecting log houses.² The *St. Anthony Express* of May 6 announced that the colonists were well pleased with the Minnetonka region and that the county commissioners had "located a road through" from St. Anthony to the settlements on the lake. "We presume a hundred farms will be opened there the coming season," it added.

Since members of another eastern colony, the Excelsior Pioneer Association of New York, arrived in the Minnetonka region at about the same time as the Northampton colonists, they have sometimes been confused. Colonel John H. Stevens, for example, forgetting, perhaps, that he had introduced the Reverend Henry M. Nichols and Levi Nutting of the Northampton Colony to the Minnetonka region in February, 1853, wrote many years later:

The county of Hennepin . . . through the agency of the New York Excelsior colony, received several permanent settlers of great merit.

¹An account of the organization of the Northampton Colony and of the arrival of its members in Minnesota is given by the present writer in an article on "Henry Martyn Nichols and the Northampton Colony," *ante*, 19:129-147. See especially p. 138, 140, 141.

²Mrs. Henry M. Nichols to a sister in Massachusetts, May 29, 1853. This letter is among the Nichols Papers in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

Among them were Rev. Mr. Nutting, and his brother Gen. Levi Nutting, now of Faribault, Rev. H. M. Nichols, Hon. Arba Cle[an]dland, Geo. M. Powers, H. M. Lyman, and Joshua Moore, all from Massachusetts, and Burritt S. and Wm. S. Judd, from Ohio; and Rev. Chas. Galpin, and his brother Rev. Geo. Galpin, natives of Connecticut; and Peter M. Gideon. . . . Mr. Bertram, the leader of the colony . . . certainly accomplished a good work for Minnesota by introducing so many good men into the territory.

Without taking any credit from George M. Bertram, it must be noted that the Massachusetts men were not under his leadership. Later Stevens speaks of the "Northampton farmers, so-called, belonging to the Excelsior colony." They were pleased with the productiveness of the soil. Cleaveland, for example, planted two potatoes from which he raised a bushel and a half.³

The naming of the new settlement makes an interesting story. Mrs. Cleaveland, in a letter written on August 22, 1853, shortly after a visit from her brother-in-law, Nichols, wrote "Chan-has-san" before the date, and in the margin she said, "You see we have named our place. It means 'maplewood.' Do you like it?" And on March 30, 1854, she wrote at the top of a letter, "Please direct to Chanhassen. We have an office now of our own."⁴

³ John H. Stevens, *Personal Recollections of Minnesota and Its People*, 200, 209 (Minneapolis, 1890). On page 211 of the same work, Stevens refers to the death of "F. Nutting, of the Northampton colony," but adds that "This was the first death among those who came west under the Excelsior auspices." Only four of the Massachusetts colonists named by Stevens — Cleaveland, Powers, Lyman, and Moore — settled in Chanhassen. Members of the Northampton and Excelsior colonies not only intermingled in their locations, but also joined in the organization of the Excelsior Congregational church in 1853. Four of the original members — Joshua and Hannah Moore from Easthampton, Massachusetts, and George M. Powers and Clarissa Cleaveland from Belchertown — were from the Northampton Colony. Although the minister of this congregation, the Reverend Charles Galpin, was a member of the New York group, he joined the Congregational Association of Minnesota, upon its organization in 1853, from the Hampshire East Association of Massachusetts.

⁴ Mrs. Cleaveland's letters are among the Nichols Papers. In a column entitled "Notes by the Way," Dr. V. Fell published the following statement in the *Minnesota Republican* of St. Anthony for November 30, 1854: "Chanhassen is the name of a post office and settlement midway

Newspaper comment on this name is to be found in the *St. Anthony Express* for January 21, 1854:

Messrs. James Philips, L. Griffiths and others of the New York Colony, with Messrs. A. Cleveland, Geo. M. Poiners [*Powers*], and the balance of the Mass. Colony have named their fine township of land Chanhassen the Indian name of Sugar Maple, or maple leaf. They sent in a petition to the Board of County Commissioners of Hennepin County at the late session to have a precinct established in their locality and to have the election held at Mr. Cleveland's. The petition was granted, and the new precinct named as they requested, which in our opinion is the most beautiful of all the names that have as yet been bestowed upon the fine and splendid rural districts of Minnesota.

The official vote on the name for the whole township did not occur, however, until May 11, 1858. According to Edward D. Neill, "at the suggestion of Rev. H. M. Nichols it was voted to call the town Chanhassen, which is an Indian word signifying sugar-maple." A full account of this meeting may be read in the first record book of the town. It was kept by Powers of the Northampton Colony, then clerk *pro tem*, who was chosen by the citizens at the meeting as first clerk of the township. At the top of the first page he wrote: "Pursuant to notice and in accordance with an act entitled an 'act to provide for Township Organization' the citizens of township 116 N Range 23 W met at the School House situated upon Sec. 16 in said township and transacted the following business." One of the first items of business reads as follows: "Voted to call the town Chanhassen."⁵

The name seems originally to have been spelled "Chanhassan," but unfortunately this did not become standard usage. The Dakota or Sioux word means "tree of sweet juice," or "sugar maple tree." On the cover of the ledger used by Powers, he wrote "Chanhassan Town Records,"

between Excelsior and Yorktown on the Minnesota. Like Excelsior and vicinity, the population are mainly from Massachusetts, and are nearly all Republicans."

⁵ Neill, *History of the Minnesota Valley*, 376 (Minneapolis, 1882). The first record book is now in the keeping of Mr. H. H. Aspden, the present clerk of the township.

and at the top of the first page appears "Journal of Records of the Town of Chanhassan." But the records themselves use "Chanhassen," the spelling that was current in the newspapers of 1858.

Only one man invariably used the spelling "Chanhassan" until the day of his death, and that was the traditional chooser of the name, Nichols. He was in the habit of writing an occasional letter from Stillwater for the *Minnesota Republican* over the signature of "Max." After a visit to Chanhassen, from February 20 to 23, 1855, he wrote an enthusiastic letter to the *Republican*, which appeared on March 8.

Was you ever at Chanhassan, Mr. Editor? Two years ago, Chanhassan was nowhere. Now, or rather last fall, it polled some fifty votes: and there is hardly a vacant claim left in the township. The settlers are far above the average of new settlements, in respectability, morality, and intelligence; and rarely can a pleasanter, or more desirable community be found, than that now settled in Chanhassan. Nearly in the center of the township is Lake Owassa, or Lake Hazeltine, as Surveyor Adams has named it,—a lake containing some two or three hundred acres, and surrounded by fenced farms under good cultivation.⁶

The face of the country here differs from almost every other portion of the Territory. It is not a prairie, neither is it timber, nor yet is it openings, such as we call openings in other places. There is a plenty of large heavy timber, maple, ash, oak, bass, &c., but the trees stand alone, as if a part of what had once been a heavy forest, while the rest had been taken off, without leaving a vestige behind.

Sometimes not more than a dozen or twenty of these trees will be found on an acre; while again, on an acre or two they stand like a forest. They shade the ground but little, being tall with small tops, like forest trees, as indeed they are, with but little of the forest. Thus a man has the strong soil of a timber farm, without the labor of clearing off the timber.

Here are also some splendid meadows, where the grass grows higher than a man's head. Take it all in all a more desirable place for a residence could not well be found in Minnesota. It is only some 3 or 4 miles from the Minnesota river, and about the same distance from Minnetonka Lake.

⁶ The lake was named for Susan Hazeltine, who opened the first school in Carver County in the fall of 1855 in Arba Cleaveland's house. See Neill, *Minnesota Valley*, 375, 376. Miss Hazeltine later married Adams.

A Lyceum is well sustained, with debates every week, and the "Portfolio" published weekly. I had the pleasure of being present last week. The gathering was at the spacious log cabin of one of the farmers, who by the way is a daguerrean artist of no mean skill, and who still pursues his business, as the sides of his room amply testified. Here the Lyceum discussed with much animation, the Land Limitation Bill, after which came the cream—the reading of the "Portfolio," by Mrs. Bingham. This was decidedly a paper of ability, not wanting in true poetic merit, and showing as much of talent as often is collected at such times. The conductors of the Garlands, Caskets and Wreaths must look to their laurels.⁷ The Chanhassan Portfolio will be hard to be surpassed.

Of the original members of the Northampton Colony settled in Chanhassen, three were particularly in the public eye. Lyman was the first postmaster, Powers was town clerk, and in 1855 Cleaveland was elected to the territorial house of representatives from Carver County on the new Republican ticket. The next year he was a vice-president of the territorial agricultural society, and he was one of the town supervisors at the time of his drowning in Lake Calhoun on July 5, 1860. The homestead of Arba Cleaveland on land west of Lake Hazeltine seems to have been the center of the township in more ways than one. It is pictured in two letters of Mrs. Cleaveland, written to a young niece in Belchertown, Massachusetts, which have a fine, firsthand flavor of pioneer life in Chanhassen.⁸ On June 15, 1853, she wrote:

I live in a little log house, with four windows in it, the bedrooms on the west end, and parlor, sitting room, kitching, & pantry, all in one. At the east window have a beautiful view of the lake. . . . I have a walk made from my door down to the brook, and my flowers on either side, they are all up, and my dahlias all alive. It will look some like home to see old Mass[achusetts] plants in Minn[esota]. I wish I had brought my white rose-bush with me, it would have lived. . . . We have an Indian canoe, on our lake. Mr. Powers goes out and gets us pond lillies: it is a pretty little sheet of water about a mile or more long; the children can fish in it when they get a little older.

⁷ Nichols refers to portfolios prepared by lyceums in Minneapolis and St. Anthony.

⁸ The original letters are among the Nichols Papers.

The following extract is from a letter of March 30, 1854:

The prairie fires . . . have been raging all the month. Some nights, when there is no moon, the whole heavens are illumined and it looks like one mighty conflagration. Other nights, when the fire is near I can see to pick up a pin anywhere, but it does not frighten me at all, for I know it is harming no one, or at least it will not, if they take the precaution they should to burn around everything they have. I have heard of but one being burned out near us, that was a German 3 miles west of us. We burned round our house & barn last fall. I should not dare to sleep one night when it was not burnt. We have winds in the spring, and a fire rushes on faster than a horse can run; there is such an amount of vegetation in the woods that the fire will run there, as well as in the meadow where the grass is 14 feet high, (for there was grass in Mr. Lyman's meadow as high as that). You can only faintly imagine how such a fire looks, with the flames rising as high as the tops of trees, roaring, crackling, and sweeping onward with a velocity nothing can check, but the want of fuel. The country is so destitute of mountains or large hills, that we can see the reflection of fires, that are miles, & miles, distant.

CHARLES W. NICHOLS

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EXCAVATING THE SITE OF OLD FORT RIDGELY

NO ONE FAMILIAR with the history of the Northwest need be reminded of the importance of the Sioux Outbreak of 1862. Almost as well known as the uprising itself is Fort Ridgely, one of the focal points of the struggle between the Sioux and the whites in the Minnesota Valley. It is appropriate that the site of this pioneer fort should now be public property, for the use and enjoyment of all. Although nearly all the buildings originally composing the post had long since been torn down, it was believed that archaeological study, based on careful excavation of individual building sites, would furnish valuable data on the original character of the post not elsewhere available. In November, 1936, in co-operation with the Minnesota division of state parks and the Minnesota Historical Society, the National Park Service began the excavation and study of these remains, as a part of the development planned for Fort Ridgely State Park under the provisions of the Civilian Conservation Corps. The extensive information obtained has surprised not only those familiar with the site in the past, where scant visible remains of the fort could be seen, but also those who have been engaged in the work.

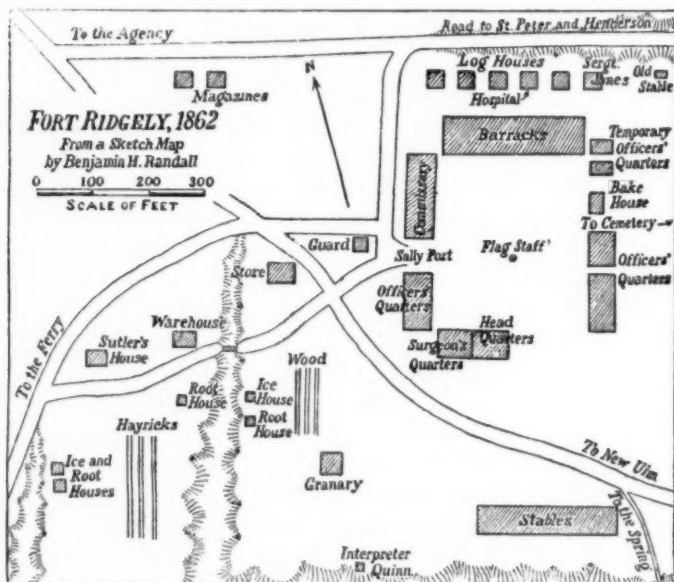
Fort Ridgely was established on the upper Minnesota River in April, 1853, as a part of a prolonged, though frequently altered, program for posts at various points along the frontier, which should afford mutual protection and control of Indian and white. The original intent of the war department was to erect at this point a permanent fort composed of stone buildings, and two such structures, the barracks and the storehouse for the commissary and quartermaster departments, were actually begun before a change was made in the plans to allow for the completion of the post

with wooden buildings. This change in plan probably had a direct bearing on the fact that after having been used for only fourteen years, the site was abandoned for military purposes. By 1867 the frontier in the Northwest had shifted so radically that the fort could have been used only as a supply depot. When the post was established, water transportation was the chief means of supply. This condition soon passed, and the great railroad systems of the succeeding period left the post far inland. The military reservation, containing more than forty-five square miles as originally surveyed, was thrown open to settlement, and the greater part of the area found its permanent usefulness as agricultural land. A further development took place, however, in the disposition of the site of the fort proper, which after having been homesteaded and in part farmed for nearly forty years, returned to the status of public lands in 1911 as a state park. In that year the site of the fort proper was set aside by an act of the Minnesota legislature for the permanent use of the public. The preservation of the major part of the site of Fort Ridgely, with its important educational and historical values, was thus assured.

The destruction of historic buildings is a familiar, if unfortunate, phenomenon. It is, therefore, not difficult to understand why the buildings of Fort Ridgely, in spite of their intrinsic interest and substantial character, should have been torn down and the material used in farm buildings of the vicinity during the great period of Minnesota's development as an agricultural state. The fact that a part of the commissary and quartermaster storehouse was long used as a barn explains the preservation of that remnant of the original group, and the use of one of the two log powder magazines as a shed prevented its destruction. Even the massive stone barracks, over two hundred feet long and two stories high, were torn down and the stone used for other purposes. Some of the stone from the fort found its way into the foundation of a neighboring church, and after long

use there, the blocks were removed during recent alterations and sent back to the fort, where they have been used in the restoration of the commissary.

Only a long low mound of earth was visible at the site of the barracks in 1936. Although this mound was obviously



[From William W. Folwell, *A History of Minnesota*, 2: 126 (St. Paul, 1924).]

a building site, no portion of wall or other feature protruded through the heavy sod that covered the remains. This sod removed, the excavation of the foundations of the barracks was begun. Portions of walls and footings were soon encountered, which were cleared and exposed to a depth slightly below the original ground level. Where portions of footings had been removed to greater depths, the excavation was lowered sufficiently to expose the top of remaining portions. The accumulated debris of fallen stone, brick, and mortar was removed, but only after having been care-

fully excavated by hand. Data of importance concerning architectural details and the smaller cultural objects included in the deposit were carefully preserved. This debris was not unusual in character; as portions of wall had collapsed or been torn down, rock and mortar had accumulated near the walls, with brick, mortar, and plaster from partitions, chimneys, and interior features, and this debris had been further built up by vegetation and wind-deposited soil. Few large blocks of the granite originally composing the building were found, but a great number of smaller size were recovered, many of which were later used in the restoration of the commissary. Few of the original wood members of the structure remained, most of them—even door sills and floor joists—having been long ago removed, but a careful examination of the surviving traces furnished data on the manner in which floor members were originally used in the building.

Footings for the massive walls of the barracks were found in place throughout the whole of their course, although in certain places the upper portions had been removed with all parts of the wall above. These footings are of special interest, and at one point excavation was carried down more than four feet below the old ground level, to the base of the footing, in order to study this feature of the building. The stones composing this foundation were somewhat graded from bottom to top. Near the bottom were huge, naturally rounded field boulders, unshaped, but tightly wedged and crowded together. Only toward the top of the footing, near the ground surface, was mortar used, with smaller fragments of rock so fitted as to provide a flat surface upon which the walls might be built.

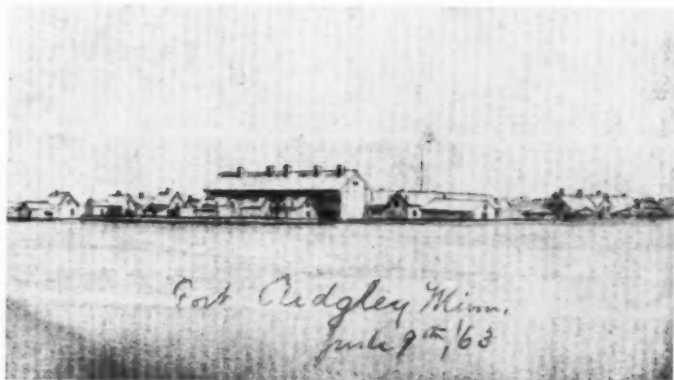
Remnants of the lower portions of these walls, two feet in thickness, were found standing along only a part of their course, being best preserved along the south or front of the building. Remnants of walls that were preserved showed evidence of skillful masonry that had produced a sturdy structure. Rectangular or subrectangular blocks of quarry

stone had been set in mortar and sparingly fitted with smaller fragments, in the pattern known architecturally as random-coursed ashlar. Drill marks on many of these blocks indicate the manner in which the stone was taken from the quarry. In the base of remaining walls, and in one additional cross wall, are openings for joists and sills in some of which were preserved fragments of the original wood members. Resting on the footing of the north side of the barracks was found one surviving timber in place, an oak sill notched to receive joists.

Along the south wall, the base of which was well preserved, were found the remains of six doorways of uniform size. These were in groups of twos — near the east, middle, and west ends of the building. In two of the doorways were the decayed remains of solid timber sills laid into the masonry on the exterior, and in openings from which similar sills had been removed impressions of the wood were clearly visible in the mortar in which they had been laid. On the interior were parts of the original brick trimming of the opening. A porch had originally run along the front of the building, and footings for this part of the structure found in place provide exact data on this feature.

No more interesting feature was found at the site of the barracks than the bases of three double fireplaces of brick. These were plain, winged fireplaces, in pairs, back to back, each opening originally into a separate room. Their interest is greatly heightened by the color of the brick, which, as a result of many hot fires while the building was in use, is a brilliant red, much more colorful than other brickwork not so affected.

On the completion of the excavation of the site of the barracks, work was continued in a similar manner on the sites of other buildings about the parade ground. These include the portion of the commissary beyond the surviving remnant of that building, the officers' dwelling along the west side, the headquarters and surgeon's quarters on the south, the

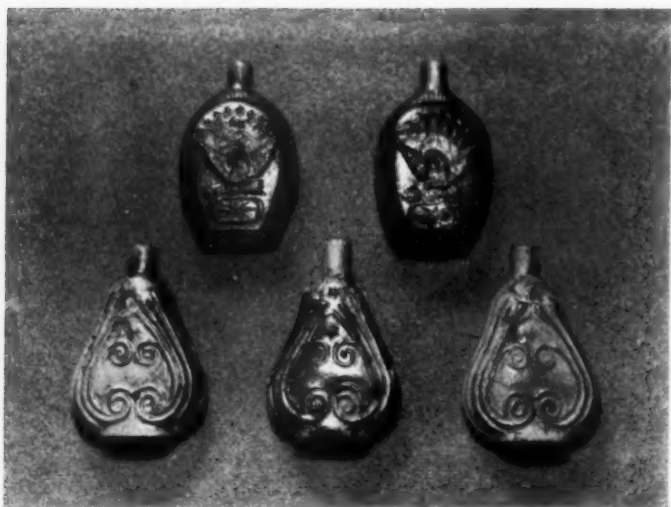


FORT RIDGELY IN 1863

[From an original pencil sketch by Wilfred J. Whitefield, in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.]



EXCAVATIONS AT FORT RIDGELY—A CELLAR
IN THE OFFICERS' QUARTERS



FLASKS UNEARTHED AT FORT RIDGELY



TOOLS AND IMPLEMENTS UNEARTHED AT FORT RIDGELY

two officers' dwellings on the east, and the bakehouse at the east end of the barracks, and the hospital at its rear. Other excavations were made in an endeavor to find traces of former paths, other buildings, and minor features of the parade ground. Since the methods employed did not differ materially from those employed on the site of the barracks, only facts of special interest concerning other structures need be mentioned. The buildings of this group, except for the barracks, the bakehouse, and the hospital, were provided with cellars, which, by reason of their good preservation, are of special interest. In general, cellar walls were made of rough field stones or refuse quarry stone, and were left with earth or sanded floors. That of the headquarters and surgeon's quarters, however, had been constructed with greater care, and was furnished with a brick floor, partition, and ramps, upon which wooden stairs had been constructed, as evidenced by remnants of charred wood found where these members fitted into the masonry.

The wood was one example of the effect of the fire that destroyed the headquarters and surgeon's quarters, a double dwelling with both parts on the same floor, in January, 1865. As a result of the fire that destroyed the superstructure and the subsequent artificial filling of the cellar, the masonry was better preserved than in the case of buildings that had been torn down and had been longer exposed to the elements. On the floors and walls of the cellar the effects of the fire are still visible. There are great areas of blackened brick near the central partition, higher up are brilliant red areas, and the stones of the walls are cracked and exfoliated, as a result of the heat of the same fire.

No one feature of the whole site is of more interest than a large cottonwood tree, approximately two feet in diameter, which is now growing inside the foundation of the smaller officers' dwelling on the east side of the parade ground. Although the cottonwood is a tree of rapid growth, the fact that it has attained its present size since the aban-

donment of the building gives one an appreciation of the time that has passed since the days when the fort was in use.

It was proposed that the commissary building should be restored to its original exterior appearance, and in April, 1937, this restoration was begun. This building, now complete, is designed to serve a new purpose as a museum and public assembly hall. Before plans for the restoration were drawn, a systematic search was made, with the assistance of the Minnesota Historical Society, in the archives of the war department and elsewhere, for old documents that might throw light on the original appearance of the building. The available data from these sources were carefully studied, together with those obtained from excavation and an examination of the surviving portion of the original.

It was necessary to obtain a large quantity of new stone for the restoration of the masonry that had been removed, and quarrying was begun at a small unused quarry several miles west of the fort, but within the old military reservation, from which the stone originally came. Where once had been heard the tapping of laborious hand drilling, the din of compressed-air drills and dynamite explosions now echoed.

Because of the fact that the site of Fort Ridgely is now dedicated to public use, it was necessary that every possible safeguard be placed about the structural remains found, lest preventable damage from weathering or careless visitors destroy what still remained. In the interest of historical accuracy, it would have been desirable if the site could have been left exactly as it was excavated, but this was quite out of the question. The original masonry had been laid in lime mortar, which had lost its quality of binder, being readily eroded by rain in summer and subject to damage by freezing and thawing in winter. It was therefore necessary to stabilize the remains by replacing the mortar with cement. Every effort was made to do the cement work in a skillful manner. In general, the masonry was simply repointed,

after clearing out as much of the mortar as possible without displacing the stone. The completed work has much the same appearance as when the masonry was first excavated. The introduction of new cement is believed to be fully justified, since the ruins are now relatively permanent. After the excavation and stabilization were completed, the original ground levels were re-established about the individual building sites and the surface seeded or sodded as the case required. Where before there were but low mounds and depressions, there are now picturesque grass-surrounded ruins, clearly visible and understandable to all.

It should perhaps be mentioned that every known resource of the site of Fort Ridgely has not been explored. Certain outlying building sites, for example, have purposely been left untouched, in the belief that they will become increasingly valuable to history as methods of excavation are refined or new documentation comes to light. The proper conservation of archaeological sites, both historic and prehistoric, entails neither a prohibition of, nor a maximum of, excavation, but rather an optimum amount of it. The unexcavated site is like a fine book, its pages unopened, in the bookseller's phrase. The partially excavated site is like the same volume with the preface, the table of contents, the author's conclusions, and the index pages slit. Complete excavation of any site should reveal all the legible details of every page, but should progress surely, just as the reader of the book will slit each signature as he goes, careful not to ruin folded inserts by too great haste.

Great quantities of smaller cultural objects, or relics, were recovered in the excavation of the sites of the various buildings. Although a few of these are clearly of recent origin, the greater portion belong to the period during which the buildings were in use, and serve to illustrate the nature of frontier military life in a most convincing manner. A catalogue of these objects lists more than fifteen hundred recognized objects, classified according to their general nature.

Included are military articles, building hardware, household utensils, personal articles, tools and implements, and examples of the farrier's art and harness. Not only do these objects vividly illustrate "the conditions imposed upon everyday existence" during the period involved, but they recall social and economic trends of the period in manufactures, the arts, and inventions. From these, materials of intrinsic value have been selected to supplement pictorial museum displays.

These remains of the material culture of Fort Ridgely, what the archaeologist would call its artifacts, are of value in any study of this post—or, for that matter, of any frontier post. They are not mere sentimental relics, of doubtful origin or association with the fort, but a group of objects of known provenience, a series more or less complete so far as they were preserved, from a study of which certain aspects of life in the fort's early period can be reconstructed with a considerable degree of accuracy.

As a kind of footnote to the central theme of the work at Fort Ridgely came the evidence, encountered beneath the site of one of the officers' dwellings, of a previous Indian occupation of the site. Elsewhere in the present park are two burial mounds, the remnant of a group that once included at least four. Of unusual interest, therefore, are flint implements and refuse chips, fragments of pottery, and bits of food refuse animal bone found beneath the layer of building debris dating from the military period. These objects were discovered in the original top soil upon which the officers' dwelling was built. It now seems likely that the burial mounds and the habitation site were contemporary. No evidence was available at the habitation site of any structural remains such as firehearth—probably such remains were obliterated when the military building was erected—and the site may have been that of a temporary habitation. Of special significance among the material collected from this aboriginal level are four gunflints, which help to assign

the deposit to its proper chronological position. These gun-flints are the only objects of white origin included in this older level, and it is probable that there was a distinct break between the military and the Indian occupations.

These data of the previous use of the site of Fort Ridgely are of interest to historians in demonstrating that the site was not first used in 1853, but had been inhabited long before that date. They are of interest to archaeologists in affording a case of actual stratigraphy, with Indian and white materials separated into levels, the latter superimposed upon the former. Of even wider significance is the fact that in the protohistoric period, at least at this site, pottery making and flint working by the natives were contemporary with the use of flintlock guns introduced by the white man, and both with the probably ancient custom of mound burial. The aboriginal material belongs to a culture pattern not yet studied in this area in detail; the ethnic relationships of the site are very indistinct. The archaeological field of southern Minnesota has as yet only been outlined, and the exact significance of this early material cannot now be more clearly defined.

G. HUBERT SMITH

FORT LARAMIE, WYOMING

STEM RUST IN THE SPRING WHEAT AREA IN 1878¹

WHEAT WAS KING of crops in Minnesota in 1878, occupying nearly sixty-nine per cent of the cultivated area of the state.² Other small grains and livestock were relatively unimportant. Today, when livestock and its products constitute a major source of income for the state, and barley and oats are produced in greater quantity than wheat, the area devoted to wheat has diminished to approximately fourteen per cent. This marked decline in wheat growing has been brought about by various factors, among them, depredations wrought by diseases and insect pests. While everyone is familiar with grasshopper ravages, the less spectacular effects of plant diseases are not so well known, in spite of the tremendous losses which diseases cause. During the ten-year period from 1925 to 1934, for instance, grasshoppers caused an average annual crop loss in Minnesota of about \$935,000.00,³ while stem rust of small grains was estimated to be responsible for a loss five times as great, amounting to \$4,505,594.00. Furthermore, this total represented the damage caused by rust in a period in which there were no major epidemics in the state. Since rust is essentially an epidemic disease, a certain amount of infection occurs each year. But in a year in which weather conditions are particularly favorable for rapid development and

¹ This study was made at the suggestion of Dr. E. C. Stakman, professor of plant pathology in the University of Minnesota and agent in the United States department of agriculture, for whose assistance the writer wishes to express appreciation.

² Edward V. Robinson, *Early Economic Conditions and the Development of Agriculture in Minnesota*, 79 (Minneapolis, 1915).

³ J. R. Parker, *Summary of Losses and Expenditures Due to Grasshoppers in the United States during the Period 1925 to 1934*, 4 (Washington, 1936). This summary was issued in mimeographed form by the bureau of entomology and plant quarantine of the United States department of agriculture.

spread of the rust organism, a crop may be so badly attacked as to be virtually ruined. Under these circumstances rust sometimes causes a reduction in yield of spring wheat in Minnesota of as much as sixty per cent, and the grain that is produced may be so light in weight as to be almost valueless.

Adequate rust observations and loss estimates have been made in this country only since about 1917. Prior to that time, reports of rust are scattered, although there is record of destructive epidemics in 1904 and 1916.⁴ Losses were so great in 1916 as to shake badly the faith that farmers still had in bread wheat and were among the factors that caused the complete abandonment of a considerable acreage of wheat in Minnesota. The epidemic of 1904, which was extremely destructive, has had the doubtful distinction of being the first stem rust epidemic in Minnesota. This distinction is undeserved, however, for examination of crop reports indicates that rust was present in epidemic proportions on spring wheat in 1878, and was severe enough to be an important factor in the failure of wheat in the area comprising southern Minnesota, northern Iowa, and Wisconsin, the most important spring wheat states at that time. With wheat growing at its peak in Minnesota, this epidemic struck one of the first blows at the supremacy of king wheat.

Early in the season of 1878 there were alluring prospects for an abundant harvest. Growth was luxuriant, as it was in the summer of 1938, stands were dense, and plants were tall and vigorous. On June 1 the condition of spring wheat was reported by the agricultural bureau as 106 per cent of normal in Minnesota and 110 per cent in Wisconsin and Iowa. Grain plants developed long heads of golden promise, and in thousands of farmers' pockets could be heard

⁴ Mark A. Carleton, *Lessons from the Grain-rust Epidemic of 1904*, 1-7 (United States Department of Agriculture, *Farmers' Bulletins*, no. 219—Washington, 1905); Harry B. Humphrey, "Cereal Diseases and the National Food Supply," in United States Department of Agriculture, *Yearbook*, 1917, p. 481-484 (Washington, 1918).

the gratifying clink of prospective dollars. Even as late as July 10 the estimated yield in Minnesota was nineteen to twenty bushels an acre.⁵ Weather conditions that favored wheat during May and June, however, became unfavorable with the beginning of July, and the first three weeks of the month were characterized by excessive rainfall and heat over considerable areas of Minnesota, Iowa, and Wisconsin. During this period, apprehension began to be felt because of the danger of damage from heat and because stem rust had begun to appear. One Minnesota paper announced that "Hot, muggy, sweltering weather is having a bad effect upon the wheat crop . . . the greatest apprehension generally being from rust." By July 22, damage to wheat was estimated at twenty-seven per cent for Minnesota and Iowa, and seventeen per cent for Wisconsin. After a week's respite from the heat, beginning on July 20—during which time local storms caused lodging of grain with consequent damage—high temperatures again prevailed, which hastened ripening in some sections; and harvesting itself was jeopardized by storms or by frequent rains. "To those unfortunate enough to own wheat fields in southeastern Minnesota and northern Iowa," according to the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* of July 29, "it will not be necessary to speak of blight and rust and general failure . . . it has for some days been too apparent to need reiteration here." Hopes for a golden harvest were finally blighted by yields averaging twelve bushels an acre in Minnesota, twelve and four-tenths bushels in Wisconsin, and nine and four-tenths in Iowa.⁶ The poorest yields in Minnesota occurred in the two southernmost

⁵ *Report upon the Condition of Crops, June 1, 1878*, 5 (United States Department of Agriculture, *Special Reports*, no. 5—Washington, 1878); *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, July 10, 1878. The estimate was made by the government crop estimator.

⁶ *Martin County Sentinel* (Fairmont), July 19, 1878; *Pioneer Press*, July 23, 1878; *Wheat, Yields Per Acre and Prices, by States, 50 Years 1866-1915*, 9 (United States Department of Agriculture, *Bulletins*, no. 514—Washington, 1917).

tiers of counties, with a low of six and seven-tenths bushels an acre in Mower County. In the years preceding 1878 there frequently had been average yields in Minnesota of from fifteen to seventeen bushels an acre. But it is doubtful whether damage estimates or bushel yields told half the distressing story.

On August 17, Edward B. Drew, a farmer at Rollingstone in Winona County, recorded in his diary: "I cut a piece of wheat next to the woods that I had concluded not to cut. Burned it up after supper." And on August 26 this entry appears: "Have about 20 good-sized loads of the stuff piled up. It will only make feed for the sheep."⁷ A determined attempt to take a saving view of the situation came from Cresco, Iowa, in a recommendation that "Unthreshed wheat straw with from 3 to 5 bushels of grain per acre in it would make good fodder for the stock." The only number 1 wheat that was harvested in Minnesota came from the western or northwestern sections of the state, and much of the wheat that was grown elsewhere was not even cut. As one grower described the crop, "If threshers are going to make any money this fall, they will have to charge for the amount of straw run through, and not grain."⁸ What had earlier promised full bins and full pockets yielded nothing, when all returns were in, but heartache, bitter disappointment—and plenty of bran!

This ruin of the farmers' hopes was attributed variously, according to the observer, to blight, rust, heat, exhaustion of the soils, lodging, storms at harvest time, or to a combination of several factors. One writer states that "wheat blighted extensively in the southern and central parts of the State." According to the Minnesota crop statistician, "Prospects for a heavy yield were hardly ever more prom-

⁷ The Drew Diary is owned by the Minnesota Historical Society.

⁸ *Howard County Times* (Cresco, Iowa), July 25, 1878; *Preston Republican*, August 15, 1878. A copy of the article from the *Times* was furnished by Dr. Leonard W. Melander of the bureau of entomology and plant quarantine in the United States department of agriculture.

ising until the time it had reached its most critical period, just previous to harvest. It was then stricken with a sudden and disastrous blight."⁹ The term "blight" apparently was used in some statements as another term for stem rust, in some to indicate an accompanying effect, and in other accounts simply as a blanket term to cover any unhealthy condition of the grain. Thus there is the report in the *Howard County Times* of July 25, 1878, in which damage in the area from central Iowa to central Minnesota is attributed to "blight, rust and smut"; and an account from Red Wing, which states that "Many samples of wheat said to be a fair average . . . show a heavy blight—from 50–75 per cent. The stalks from the head down several inches are dead and covered with black rust and the heads also are turning black." Despite the confusion of terms, this description leaves no doubt that stem rust was involved. Stem rust also evidently was meant by the *Madison* [Wisconsin] *Journal* when it reported that "The wheat, oats and barley will suffer badly, partly from being prostrated and partly from rust or mildew."¹⁰ This old colloquial use of the word "mildew" as a general term including rust occurs again in the diary of Cornelius Janzen, who went to Mountain Lake in Cottonwood County from Russia in 1878 and wrote of his first harvest: "Die Ernte war vom Mehltau ziemlich beschädigt"—"the crop was badly damaged by mildew."¹¹ Whatever the opinion, however, and whatever the term used to express it, a survey of observers' accounts leaves no doubt that there was abundant rust. The responsibility of exhausted soils for the crop failure could only be secondary, in view of the fact that yields in subsequent years were not consistently so low. Lodging, on the other hand,

⁹ Robinson, *Agriculture in Minnesota*, 75; Minnesota Commissioner of Statistics, *Eleventh Annual Report*, 21 (St. Paul, 1880).

¹⁰ *Pioneer Press*, July 21, 1878. The *Madison Journal* is quoted in the *Rochester Post* for July 19, 1878.

¹¹ A typewritten copy of Janzen's diary is owned by the Minnesota Historical Society.

was in itself a damaging factor, and when it did not occur too late, also promoted rust development.

Heat undoubtedly contributed to kernel shrinkage, as well as stem rust. But it should be pointed out, in view of claims encountered to the effect that heat was mainly responsible in 1878, that the hot, wet weather which prevailed during most of July was precisely suited to rapid rust development.¹² "It was just that sultry, soggy, vapor-bath sort of weather common enough a few degrees south of us and in the corn belt generally but rare in Minnesota," according to the *Pioneer Press* of July 15. It is also noteworthy that July temperatures were higher in the Twin Cities section in two recent heavy rust years than in 1878.¹³ One would therefore be inclined to conclude that rust damage was more important than damage from heat alone.

As at present, there was disagreement among observers as to the amount of rust. Similarly, there were various rea-

¹² Showers were of almost daily occurrence in many sections. At Winona, for instance, showers or rain were reported on June 27, 28, and 30 (drenching rain), and on July 3 (heavy rains), 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 15, 16, 17 (general storm), 19 (rain lasting several hours), and 25. Harvesting began on July 26. The highest temperature, ninety-seven degrees, was reported on July 16. At Des Moines temperatures of from ninety to ninety-six degrees were recorded between July 11 and 18; at Dubuque during the same period there were storms and damp heat. Excessive rainfall in July was recorded by unofficial observers at three points in northeastern Iowa—Charles City, with a total of 8.63 inches and a hundredth of an inch or more on nine days; Hesper, with thirteen rainy days and a total fall of 13.20 inches; and McGregor, with 9.73 inches of rain. See *Winona Daily Republican*, June 29 to July 30; and Iowa State Agricultural Society, *Reports*, 1878, p. 496, 543, 957. Similar reports came from other sections. Heavy rains and muggy weather occurred in southern Wisconsin previous to July 19, and at La Crosse on the same date it was still very hot with daily rains.

¹³ The average maximum temperatures for July at Minneapolis were 89.6° in 1935 and 87.5° in 1937, as compared with 84.1° at St. Paul in July, 1878. Minimum temperatures also were lower in 1878. See the *Monthly Meteorological Summary* for July, 1935, and July, 1937, issued by the United States weather bureau at Minneapolis, and the *Climatic Summary of the United States*, section 46, p. 9, 10, 15 (Washington, 1934). The latter item, a publication of the federal weather bureau at Washington, contains climatic data covering the period from the establishment of stations to 1930 inclusive.

sons for the disagreement. It is plain, however, that there actually was considerable local variation within the stricken area, due to differences in soil, in elevation and situation of fields, in date of sowing and maturity, and in varieties used. Lost Nation wheat was being grown extensively and was proving very susceptible to rust. From Osage, Iowa, came the plaint that "Our farmers last spring sowed at least 20 bushels of Lost Nation to one of Fife, so we are all a lost nation in this section, as it will not yield over 5 bushels of screenings per acre."¹⁴ According to all reports, the variety Lost Nation was the most severely injured, although White Russia was not much better in this respect. Brooks was somewhat less severely injured, and Fife wheat withstood rust best and produced the largest yields of highest quality, when compared with the other varieties.

Another explanation of local variations in rust severity which cannot be overlooked, in the light of present knowledge, was the presence of barberry bushes. The role of barberries as the alternate host for stem rust was not a matter of general knowledge in 1878, and settlers in southeastern Minnesota, many of them Yankees, took the shrubs with them when they went to their new homes or planted them subsequently, for the barberry bush was a favorite as an ornamental shrub. One settler is said to have made a planting in the old Portland Prairie district of Houston County as early as 1857.¹⁵ Judging from the density and size of bushes and the large number of escapes found in this district subsequently, other early settlers in the new land of promise also made the sad mistake of sowing wheat with one

¹⁴ E. M. Britts and Company, in *Northwestern Miller*, August 2, 1878.

¹⁵ A report of G. W. Metcalf, Sr., to the effect that his father had transported one barberry plant from the East "nearly 70 years ago" was recorded on the original barberry survey slip of April 25, 1919, by J. M. Holzinger, barberry scout. The father presumably was Cornelius Metcalf, Jr., who went to Portland Prairie from Blackstone, Massachusetts, in 1857, and whose son, George W. Metcalf, was born in 1861. H. V. Arnold, *Old Times in Portland Prairie, Houston County, Minn.*, 20, 112 (Larimore, North Dakota, 1911).

hand and its poison with the other. In the Mankato area there is record of bushes that had escaped from cultivation as early as 1883.¹⁶ It is significant that the bushes were observed in "old" fields—evidence that cultivation of these fields already had been abandoned at this early date, presumably as a result of destruction of the grain by rust spread from the bushes. From these records and others it is evident that wherever there were settlers there were barberry bushes also; just how many there were in the spring wheat area of 1878 can only be conjectured. A systematic survey of barberries made since 1918, however, when the bush was outlawed, indicates that a total of 608,859 bushes had been planted in the state up to that time, and, in addition, that 132,042 had escaped from cultivation.¹⁷ In 1878 this living evidence of the farmer's folly undoubtedly was important enough, particularly in the older counties of the southeast, to have contributed significantly to the rust epidemic and consequent failure of wheat.

Nowadays, in spite of more information regarding the nature of rust development, various methods of control, including eradication of the alternate host and breeding for rust resistance, rust control is still a problem. Serious losses are caused in years in which the combination of factors that go to make up an epidemic are just right. Hope for better conditions in the future, however, is indicated by success with newly developed varieties such as Thatcher.¹⁸ Wheat growers of the state might easily once more have been a "lost nation" in the summer of 1938 on account of rust had they not sown Thatcher, which was developed at the Minne-

¹⁶ Barberry was found particularly in sections 23, 24, 25, 26, 35, and 36 of Wilmington Township, and in the adjoining section 19 of Winnebago Township, Houston County, according to information furnished through the courtesy of Dr. Melander. See also Warren Upham, *Catalogue of Flora of Minnesota*, 21 (Minneapolis, 1884).

¹⁷ These figures represent the numbers of bushes found and destroyed to October 31, 1938, according to Dr. Melander.

¹⁸ Herbert K. Hayes and others, *Thatcher Wheat* (Minnesota Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletins*, no. 325—St. Paul, 1936).

sota Agricultural Experiment Station in co-operation with the United States department of agriculture, and so far has refused to be injured by stem rust on the farms of the Northwest. To prevent such a catastrophe as that of 1878 from occurring every year instead of only occasionally, eradication of barberry bushes must be continued, for on these bushes, through hybridization, new parasitic strains of rust are able to arise which may be able to attack varieties of wheat that strains now in existence are unable to affect. This was the unfortunate experience with Ceres wheat.¹⁹ For the protection of new varieties, therefore, eradication of the alternate host and breeding for resistance should proceed side by side.

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¹⁹ Elvin C. Stakman and R. C. Cassell, "The Increase and Importance of Race 56 of *Puccinia graminis tritici*," in *Phytopathology*, 28:20 (January, 1938).

SOME SOURCES FOR NORTHWEST HISTORY

BUSINESS RECORDS

OF LATE YEARS historians have discovered the "forgotten man." For a long time they had confined their attention to the politicians, the warriors, the writers, and the pastors; history was largely a matter of laws and wars, of books and churches. But it is now growing more and more apparent that the life and growth of a country depend far more upon the workaday efforts of the millions who farm, manufacture, transport, and trade. Politics, religion, and war can at best make the frame for the picture, lay down the rules of the game, clear obstacles from the path (or put them there). The picture has to be painted, the game has to be played, the path has to be trodden by the labor and enterprise of the whole people.

Take any rural area: its history is that of the farmers who settled it and cultivate it. Take any small town: its history has probably been far more influenced by the mill, the general store, the bank, the creamery, and the railroad depot than by all the men who have represented it in St. Paul and Washington. Take any large city: its growth and welfare (or its stagnation and woe) depend on the skill, foresight, and enterprise with which manufacturers, traders, bankers, and transporters have gone about their job, have exploited the natural resources and geographical position, and have wrestled with the immediate or long-run problems.

The influence of economic developments on social and political history can be seen on every hand. America would have been a different place if it had not had Ford, Carnegie, McCormick, or Eastman. The history of these large firms is admittedly a vital part of American history at large. But

in similar manner the story of countless farmers, factories, merchant houses, stores, lumber firms, mines, banks, and even small shops is the raw material out of which the real history of the Northwest will some day be written.

That raw material has to be sought in the records which businessmen of all kinds make in the course of their work. Congressional investigations, state inquiries, statistical reports, trade journals, and newspapers tell some of the story, but by no means all. If we wish to know what farmers, manufacturers, and merchants did, why they did it, how they did it, and with what result, it is to their letters, diaries, account books, and the like that we must turn. These records may seem to have no historical value to the men who make them, and are usually destroyed sooner or later. Yet in the hands of a skilled economic historian they can be made to throw a flood of light on the history of agriculture, manufactures, commerce, transportation, or finance. The letters and account books of an Italian merchant who died five hundred years ago have given us a vivid picture of business life and problems in the Middle Ages. A few account books of a London merchant who died about the time of the American Revolution have proved a veritable gold mine of information about trade across the Atlantic. The ledgers of an Ontario general storekeeper who died in 1800 give one of the best pictures we have of pioneer village life and trade; and a few stray farmers' diaries have illuminated the life of the Minnesota frontier.

Apart from their contribution to the general history of a period or area, business records help us to study the history and problems of business itself. From them we can seek answers to such questions as: Who organized the enterprise? How and where was the capital raised, and how was it invested? What was the state of the market and of competition? Did the firm furnish a new product or service, or a new way of handling an old product or service? Where was the necessary labor found and how was it organized? What wage policy was adopted? What were the price

policies, the terms of credit, and so forth? What were the special problems which had to be solved? What effect did depressions exert, and how were the storms weathered? What were the financial rewards of the enterprise? How long did it carry on? If it closed down, why? If it carried on, what is its present position? Has it grown always or did it become stabilized at a certain point of size? Why?

Such questions have more than a historical value. The answers to them may be worth much to the younger generation which is preparing itself for a business career. And they might influence our discussions of the relations between business and government on the one hand, and between business and labor (or the consumer) on the other. But even their historical value is great, for they let us get a clearer picture of the efforts and enterprise, the hopes and fears, the problems and perplexities, the rewards or disappointments of those who built the world we live in.

The business records which have proved to be most valuable are articles of incorporation, account books of all kinds, letters (both incoming and outgoing), production or sales records, periodical financial statements, wages lists, agreements with labor unions, and price lists.

It is hoped that businesses in the Twin Cities will co-operate with the Minnesota Historical Society and the University of Minnesota in the preservation of their records. They can do so in the following ways:

First, by reporting to the society or the university any old records which they possess, whether of existing firms or of those which have disappeared. Some Twin City firms are almost as old as the state itself, and their records are part of the story of the building of the state or of the whole Northwest. It is especially important that these be preserved and that their existence be known to historians.

Second, by depositing in the society's manuscript collection or the university's library such records as have ceased to be of business importance. In general few records dated prior to 1900 are likely to be kept for reference and might be

transferred; and the date might be fixed much later. The records could be transferred subject to any conditions which their owners cared to impose; for instance, it might be stipulated that records should not be accessible to research students until the papers were fifty years old; or that any study based on them be submitted to the business concerned for its approval (or otherwise) before it was published.

Third, by discussing with the society or the university the problem of preserving and disposing of present or future records. While in general the historian today is concerned to save and get access to records bearing on the early history of the state, the letters, accounts, and the like, of 1939 will be old records in 1989. The mass of records accumulating today is enormous, and when these papers become "dead" it would be impossible for any library to provide storage space for them all. But it might be possible for the libraries and the heads of a firm to work out a method of selecting sample papers or important records.

Fourth, by offering facilities for work by accredited students on papers which a firm desires to keep in its own hands rather than transfer to a library.

In one or more of these four ways—by reporting, by transferring, by preserving, and by making accessible—businesses in the Northwest can aid greatly in the study of the development of our region and even of the nation. Twelve years ago Harvard University established a chair of business history, and a Business Historical Society was formed to seek, preserve, and collect business records. As a result, most valuable collections of papers have been saved and found, and studies of John Jacob Astor, of Jay Cooke, of the first Bank of Massachusetts, and of other important business enterprises have been published. What Harvard is doing for the East, we can do for the Northwest if the material is saved and made available.

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NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

THE MANUSCRIPT JOURNAL OF THOREAU'S LAST JOURNEY

WHEN HENRY DAVID THOREAU traveled in Minnesota in 1861 he continued his customary practice of recording his daily observations in a journal. These notes were edited by his friend, F. B. Sanborn, and published in 1905 in a limited edition of 495 copies.¹ Those who have perused the volume on the Minnesota journey have doubtless been tantalized by the editor's disregard of chronological order. Sanborn quotes entries for May 28 and 29, two days when Thoreau was collecting plants in the Minnehaha region. Then a letter is inserted which Thoreau wrote to the editor from Red Wing four weeks later describing his trip on the Minnesota River. More notes on the Twin City area appear, and then the portion of the actual diary which covers the Minnesota River trip, June 17 to 22. The notes made in the few days spent at Red Wing and on the homeward journey are included next. When Sanborn's transcription reaches the point where Thoreau is at Mackinaw the editor states, "This then will be a convenient halting-place to take up the work which he did in reading and botanizing from his long halting-place at St. Anthony and St. Paul."² From this point forward, the text reproduces Thoreau's notes for the early part of June and the order between pages 73 and 105 runs in the following fashion—June 5, 13, 14, 15, 16, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14.

The disconcerting arrangement of notes will make many readers in the Northwest wish that they might see Thoreau's own notes and this desire may in a sense be gratified, for a photostatic copy of the original manuscript is now available

¹ Franklin B. Sanborn, ed., *The First and Last Journeys of Thoreau*, vol. 2 (Boston, 1905).

² *Journeys*, 2:66.

in the Museum of Natural History of the University of Minnesota.³ It is easy to understand Sanborn's chronological difficulties when the book is compared with this copy for, although the order in the two is not the same, Thoreau himself, who is credited with numbering the pages, has placed the notes on the journey up the Mississippi before those on the beginning of the trip with details on stops at Schenectady and Niagara.⁴ Many of the observations on natural history are inserted with entire disregard of the date of the major part of the entry.

The notes, it is to be remembered, were kept as a field journal to aid the author in reconstructing the scene later, and were not intended for publication in the incomplete form in which they were jotted down. Thoreau's death the following year, however, meant that the journal was left in this chaotic state. An example of the type of note which was clear to the observer but puzzling to the modern reader may be found in a record for an afternoon on Nicollet Island which reads briefly: "A deer on Nicollet — quite red-tawny with black ends of ears — & narrow hoofs the 2 toes converging."⁵ Since deer were probably very rare if still occurring in nature on Nicollet Island in 1861, it is probable that this animal, if alive, was a captive.

The penmanship employed in making the notes created another problem for Sanborn as the editor, and for modern students of the manuscript. An interesting example of the difficulties involved may be selected from one of the items on a botanical list which Sanborn has transcribed: "Common Pigweed (*Chenopodium album*) or crow-wings? (in groves)." This seems quite clearly a misinterpretation on the part of the editor, for the entry actually reads "Com-

³ This copy has been purchased by Dr. Thomas S. Roberts, director of the museum. The original manuscript is in the possession of the Henry E. Huntington Library at San Marino, California. The photostatic copy used by the present writer will be cited as Thoreau's Journal.

⁴ *Journeys*, 2:110.

⁵ *Journal*, 85.

mon pigweed on Crow Wing's?? grave."⁶ Since Thoreau had seen Chief Little Crow at an Indian council at the Redwood agency before stopping at Red Wing, it seems quite possible that he had confused the Indian names. Evidence in a letter of Horace Mann, Jr., his companion, points to this interpretation. Mann wrote from Red Wing on June 23, 1861: "The bluff and town are both named for the old Sioux Chief Red Wing who was buried on this bluff about ten years ago, and I have marked the situation of his grave. . . . We [*probably Thoreau and Mann*] found a strawberry and a pigweed upon it besides other plants."⁷ If the question marks in the Thoreau manuscript were inserted by the author, they may indicate his own recognition of this error in names in a later reading of the notes.

A question of interest to naturalists which the Sanborn edition provoked has now been answered by the use of this manuscript. Thoreau's description of a passenger pigeon's nest as quoted in Sanborn reads "Built of slender hard twigs only, so open that I could see the eggs from the ground." The fact that the usual pigeon's clutch was only one egg led to the assumption that Thoreau had confused a passenger pigeon with the mourning dove, which normally lays two eggs. The document clearly shows the singular form of the word, and further evidence of pigeon nesting near Lake Calhoun is given in a summary on page 80: "4 pig. nests 2 in bass — 1 in oak — & 1 in hop horn beam — in 2 1 egg each in others 1 young — 1 egg far advanced." Again a letter which Horace Mann, Jr., wrote to his mother supplies additional evidence of the fact that there was only one egg in one of the nests which Thoreau described, for Mann collected the egg.⁸ A second error appears in Sanborn's

⁶ *Journeys*, 2:88; *Journal*, 80.

⁷ A number of letters written by Horace Mann, Jr., to his mother are in the possession of Mr. Robert L. Straker of New York, who has permitted the writer to quote from them.

⁸ *Journeys*, 2:96; *Journal*, 48; Horace Mann to Mary Mann, June 7, 1861.

edition in a description of a pigeon's nest with "another young bird" feigning injury to protect the first young. This appears quite distinctly in the manuscript as "old bird," thus clearing Thoreau's ornithological reputation!⁹

Sanborn refers to "a slight sketch of the branching bass-wood" in which the first pigeon's nest was found, and to another drawing illustrating the method by which a ferry was drawn across the Mississippi, but the manuscript shows that these "sketches" were so rudimentary that they scarcely can be counted as illustrations in the true sense. A pressed specimen of the floating duckweed is inserted in the journal with an entry indicating that Thoreau found it in pools at Mendota.¹⁰

Personal notations showing Thoreau's systematic care of his possessions are illustrated in his laundry lists, in one of which occurs the item "3 bosoms," indicative of a prevailing fashion. His expense account lists one dollar invested in a map of Minnesota noted after a breakfast at Detroit. Expenses in St. Anthony include an item of five cents "cheated," and a precaution against larger losses is suggested by the notations:

Left pocket	78.10
Right	60
Bosom	40

178.10¹¹

Thoreau's search for historical information about his new surroundings is indicated in his abstracts from the accounts of explorers in Minnesota.¹² These notes are intermingled with his scientific data.

⁹ *Journeys*, 2: 101; *Journal*, 52.

¹⁰ *Journeys*, 2: 38, 96; *Journal*, 16, 48, 70. The correct name for the plant mentioned is *Lemna minor*, not *Lemna trisulca* as Thoreau has labeled it; the latter name is that of a water plant which grows entirely submerged, and is very different from the one preserved in the *Journal*.

¹¹ *Journal*, preliminary pages.

¹² An interesting article by John T. Flanagan on Thoreau's route and activities in Minnesota appears in the issue of this magazine for March, 1935, *ante*, 16: 35-46.

The pages of the journal are numbered from 1 to 97, and most of the entries are dated. A letter from Mary Mann, the mother of Thoreau's companion, appears opposite page 37. Some notes on the Minnesota River boat schedule and a laundry list made while at Lake Calhoun are scribbled along the border of a letter dated January 23, 1860, at Boston from Chauncey Smith to Thoreau.

Individuals interested in the manuscript may examine the photostatic copy and a typewritten transcript prepared by Miss Mabel Densmore at the University of Minnesota Museum of Natural History.

EVADENE BURRIS SWANSON

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PETER RINDISBACHER: A COMMUNICATION¹

YOUR ARTICLE in the March issue of MINNESOTA HISTORY on Peter Rindisbacher's Minnesota water colors at West Point reminds me that for some time I have had several notes on Rindisbacher and his work. He was, as you know, an early artist of Wisconsin as well as of Minnesota.

During the first months of Lyman C. Draper's superintendency of the Wisconsin Historical Society he wrote to many men of prominence in the United States, inviting them to join the society and to contribute to its collections. In response to one such request Caleb Atwater of Circleville, Ohio, wrote to Draper on July 24, 1854, stating that he was presenting a copy of his *Tour to Prairie du Chien . . . in 1829* and "4 drawings of my favorites, natives of your region of country." He continues:

Winnesheek was my pet, and so was the Prairie Wolf. The latter I carried with me, as far as Edwardsville, where I left him, as I feared that the travelling any further with me, would kill him. My likenesses of Indians are in the Patent Office, at Washington City.

¹ This letter from Miss Alice Smith, curator of manuscripts for the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, was addressed on May 2 to Miss Nute, whose description of "Rindisbacher's Minnesota Water Colors" appears *ante*, p. 54-57. *Ed.*

I paid a painter one hundred and thirty dollars for his services, and I paid one hundred dollars for carriage of minerals, etc.

In a letter dated August 13 Atwater supplies some additional details concerning the paintings:

The likenesses of 13 Indians, Sauks & Foxes, in water colours, were given to Col. Childs of Philada who promised me to engrave the Picture & send me 25 copies of the print. It represented 13 of the Sauks & Foxes, in a war dance. Keokuk Morgan & others were drawn to the life, by my Swiss artist, Rhindesberger. Col. Childs carried the picture to England, where he published it, accompanied by a biographical sketch of each Indian written by me. On the Colonel's return, he sent only one copy which fell into the hands of James Hall of Cincinnati, who in co. with some engraver in Philada published it in nos. of a magazine. The original picture and the engravings are in London and not in America. Ten of my Indian likenesses, in oil, by King, Charles B. of Washington City are in the patent office, Washington City. Among these likenesses in the Patent office are Naw-kaw and the elder Cary Maunie. The others I now forget though I believe, Maneater and the Little Elk are of the number, inasmuch as they were great pets of mine.

It appears as though Atwater carried away with him from Prairie du Chien to Philadelphia and Washington in the late summer of 1829 more than the Rindisbacher water colors that are reproduced in the volume of McKenney and Hall's *Indian Tribes*. The "P. K. & C." in the corner of the reproduction of the "Sioux Warrior Charging" in the *American Turf Register* for October, 1829, undoubtedly stands for Pendleton, Kearney & Childs, the lithographing firm that Colonel Childs established in 1829.

The fact that Atwater still had on hand in 1854 at least four small water colors is also worthy of note. One of these, the miniature of Isaac Winnesheek, is reproduced in Porter Butts's *Art in Wisconsin* (Madison, 1936). The original of this portrait with two of the others, both small tinted sketches about five by seven inches, are in the picture files of this society. One is labeled "Prairie Wolf," and the other, a water fowl, "Pattashgas of the Wisconsin." The fourth I have not been able to locate.

In Mr. Butts's volume he notes that in 1890 John B. Dun-

bar of Bloomfield, New Jersey, offered to this society a lithograph of an "Interior of a Sioux Lodge" drawn by Rindisbacher. He also calls attention to the fact that Mrs. Adele Gratiot of Gratiot, Wisconsin, in her reminiscences published in volume 10 of the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, speaks of the arrival of the Swiss emigrants from the Selkirk settlement in 1826 and of Peter Rindisbacher's being employed by her husband. Very likely the Gratiots, who were members of a prominent St. Louis family, were instrumental in sending the young artist to that city. There is no Rindisbacher listed in the federal manuscript census of the Wisconsin region in 1830.

In Henry Tuckerman's *American Artist Life* (New York, 1870), in a list of American productions in private and public collections in the United States, J. C. McGuire of Washington, D. C., is credited with owning "Rindisbacher, — Indian War Dance, 17 full-length figures, Portraits."

I have one more note, and I am sorry that it is such an indefinite one. One day about two years ago a man from Wheaton, Illinois, called here and inquired if we had any Rindisbacher drawings. He was, he said, a grandson of Peter Rindisbacher, who was born in Switzerland, died in Jo Daviess County, Illinois, about 1870, and was buried under what is now the main street of Shullsburg, Wisconsin. According to his account, this Rindisbacher had four children: Mrs. Charles Monnier; Mrs. Ostertag Collins of southwestern Wisconsin; Peter, who went on a Missouri River expedition and who died in St. Louis; and Frederick, who died in Jo Daviess County. He thought that perhaps he might have some Rindisbacher productions in his own possession and promised to tell me more about the artist the next time he was in Madison, but he has not yet reappeared, and I am unable to verify any of his statements.

ALICE E. SMITH

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN
MADISON

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

The Gateway to History. By ALLAN NEVINS. (Boston, D. C. Heath and Company, 1938. vii, 412 p. \$3.00.)

Fortunately for the serious student of history a few historians are like the players in *Hamlet*—"they'll tell all." The guild secrets are thus released, and the young apprentice can inspect the methods of a master craftsman. Bernheim, Freeman, Harrison, Seignobos, Langlois, Jusserand, Vincent, Fling, Allen Johnson, Barnes, and others have devoted great energy, not only in the training of beginners, but in raising the standards of those who are actively engaged in historical writing. High ideals and lofty standards are proclaimed for the purpose of challenging the competent and disheartening the dilettante. To the select group of those who have described and analyzed history and endeavored to improve its quality the name of Allan Nevins must now be added.

The Gateway to History is aptly named; it serves as a guide and monitor. The volume contains a defense of history; broad and catholic definitions; adequate descriptions of historical materials and their accretion; descriptions of various types of documents, together with abundant illustrations; an analysis of evidence; a consideration of historical problems as opposed to simple narratives; a discussion of the geographic, social, biographical, and literary aspects of history; notes on reading; and three bibliographies. The volume is not catalogic or tabular; neither is it abtruse nor vague. On the contrary, it abounds in concrete materials and tangible suggestions.

Any work of this kind inevitably reflects the reading and experience of the author. It is the good fortune of the reader that Professor Nevins has read widely, observed keenly, written clearly, and pronounced judiciously. His citations, extracts, and examples are drawn from all periods and lands. He seems equally at home in discussing the Q Gospel, Livy's history, and the objectivity of the *Herald-Tribune*. This wealth of illustration enriches the treatment and promotes full appreciation on the part of every serious reader.

A few comments on some of the content will give the reader of this review a more specific idea of the range and quality of the vol-

ume. The author claims a place for history because it is the creator and inspirer of nations; because it furnishes the materials for poetry, philosophy, and drama; because it helped materially in laying the foundations of democracy in America; and because it serves such a multitude of needs, interests, and tastes. The author is emphatic, almost vehement, in guarding history against the dogmatists who assert that it is an art or a science, that it is a regular process of evolution, that it must be absolutely impartial and unbiased, and that it must be unembellished in style. He describes the familiar classes of sources, including artifacts, oral traditions, and written materials, and traces in summary fashion the steps by which many of these materials have been collected and preserved. This part (chapter 4) closes with a brief but important analysis of why some kinds of recent and present-day history face an actual diminution of sources. The chapters devoted to the kinds of documents and the nature of evidence are not particularly different from previous treatments of these topics, but they are vitalized by colorful examples and incisive comments. The discussion of problems, hypotheses, interpretations, philosophies, and ideas occupies two well-written and richly illustrated chapters (8 and 9). The contents of the remainder of the book are adequately indicated by saying that they deal with geographic influences, with society and history, with biography, with literary qualities in history, and with suggestions on the reading of history.

In the opinion of the reviewer chapter 1, "In Defence of History," is quite ineptly named. Such phrasing tends to arouse suspicion. This fear is realized in part when the author declares that history is more dignified than poetry, philosophy, and drama, when he talks about an attitude being "unjust" to history, and when he says he will demonstrate that history deals with more ideas than any other study. Such a protective and defensive treatment is unnecessary, for there are few signs of any concerted or effective attack upon the subject.

In spite of the fact that the author declares that the central focus of attention should be society rather than the state (p. 12) and that he seems to approve Voltaire's dictum that the community rather than the individual should receive more emphasis (p. 253), the chapter on society and history seems less convincing than the ones on biography and on literary qualities. For one thing, too much space is devoted to Carlyle and Lamprecht and to mild taunts over the failure of soci-

ology to supply all that its early proponents promised. The author does, however, give his verbal blessing to sociology as a contributor to history.

The chapter (13) on the literary aspects of history is devoted largely to the problems of organizing content, to the methods of composition of various historians, to the vanity, timidity, and clumsiness of beginners, and to a denunciation of those historians who select only the picturesque and the dramatic. There are a few passages on style and design.

The author devotes considerable energy and a few pages (231-236) to the *nunc pro tunc* fallacy. He seems to think that the historian should not judge Pitt's policy toward Ireland as harsh or brutal because at that time it seemed reasonable; that the Inquisition was not so cruel as we have thought because it was no more cruel than the civil law of that time; that Egyptian art was not naive or ludicrous because the people of that day did not so regard it; and that the present-day traveler who goes by airplane underestimates the problem of Daniel Boone in blazing the Wilderness Trail. Here appears a confusion of judgments and facts. The facts of the pertinent period or topic must by all means be carefully collected and understood, but only confusion can flow from a doctrine that our opinions, judgments, and tastes must be softened, modified, or changed because of those which prevailed at the time of the event. Our ideas must inevitably constitute the point of reference and furnish us the standard of comparison. The author himself prophesies that twenty centuries hence our art will "appear incredibly quaint and absurd." There is the answer to most of his discussion on the *nunc pro tunc* fallacy. If our art then appears "quaint and absurd," it will then be quaint and absurd, and no sympathy with or understanding of art in 1939 will change the fact. Perhaps the point hinges partly on the tenses of the verbs, particularly the past and the present tenses. Fortunately the author is saved, in part, on this point by the much clearer dictum of Lord Acton, which, strangely enough, he quotes with apparent approbation. This section ends in confusion and inconsistency by declarations that the "historian should have certain fixed moral canons," and that "murder is always murder, robbery always robbery, cruelty always cruelty." It is certain that the student of ethics or social customs will reject these dicta, and it is doubtful that the historian is justified in proclaiming them.

A few scattering criticisms of a minor nature occur to the reviewer. "Both causes and effects in history are always events" (p. 214). It is possible that a political idea, a social practice, or an economic institution might lead to a certain effect, yet these factors can scarcely be correctly labeled as "events." In spite of the fact that the book is didactic and hortatory, some of the exhortations may be too emphatic. If the author will analyze the meaning and pertinency of the phrase "after all," he will probably use it less often. The author seems to be uncertain of his opinion of Parkman's *Conspiracy of Pontiac*. On page 209 the volume is cited as a brilliant example of a monograph devoted to a single problem, but on page 381 it "is not worth reading." The chapter on biography is particularly valuable. No comments are made concerning the bibliographies, for the ones who need them will think they are entirely satisfactory.

EDGAR B. WESLEY

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
MINNEAPOLIS

Ole Edvart Rølvaag, A Biography. By THEODORE JORGENSEN and NORA O. SOLUM. (New York and London, Harper and Brothers, 1939. vii, 446 p. Illustrations. \$4.00.)

Here are answers to many of the questions which rise in one's mind as he reads *Giants in the Earth*. Rølvaag's biographers have, for example, set down all the external events of his life that one can ask for. The record is as moving as it is simple: harsh, beautiful years as a fisher lad in Norway (here made peculiarly appealing by the charm of an autobiographical fragment in which Rølvaag records them); deadening toil as a laborer in Dakota; anguished, exhilarating growth as a student in Dakota and Minnesota; inspired and inspiring labor as a teacher in St. Olaf College; discouragement, misunderstanding, and ultimate triumph as a novelist in America and in Norway. These annals are detailed, exhaustive (sometimes to the point of repetition), and elaborately documented.

A portrait of Ole Rølvaag may be reconstructed from scattered comments by his biographers and a few pertinent incidents. In youth, it appears, he was sensitive, fanciful, irresolute, naive. In maturity, he attained self-reliance, with no loss in simplicity. A persistent preacher of virility, he was himself a fighter and ruggedly masculine.

Fluent in profanity, skilled in hearty anecdote, jovial, and even boisterous, Rölvaag kept both feet on the earth. Even more significant, however, were his high seriousness, ineradicable religious sense, and innate mysticism. Finally, hidden in his heart was capacity alike for calm but supreme elevation and for abysmal depression. He was, as he declared and his biographers realize, a mystic but no saint.

How came Rölvaag to create his masterpiece, *Giants in the Earth*? First, according to this biography, came forty years of preparation: devotion to poetry and rigorous apprentice work in Norwegian prose, observation of American life and meditation on immigrants' problems. Then, spurred by the announcement that Johan Boyer contemplated a novel on Scandinavians in the Northwest, he took leave from St. Olaf and escaped to the beauty and the solitude of northern Minnesota. As he struggled there in creative agony, on him fell the high inspiration which rarely comes more than once to a novelist. His task completed during an interlude in Norway, Rölvaag had the extraordinary good fortune to meet Lincoln Colcord while the latter was a temporary resident in Minneapolis. Deeply stirred by the novel, Mr. Colcord recast it in English even more powerful than the original Norwegian. The result, the biographers remark, "can hardly be called a translation"; and nothing in their volume is more fascinating than a series of examples demonstrating how the book was thus reworked.

By minutely tracing Rölvaag's thought from youthful pietism to a mature acceptance of blind chance as coexistent with the will of God, a rejection of the idea of progress, and a steady movement toward pessimism (his own and Dean Inge's), his biographers do him a disservice, by suggesting, perhaps unconsciously, that he should be viewed as a philosopher. Only on one theme is his thinking original, namely, on the relations between immigrant and native cultures in the Northwest. Repelled by the shallowness of American life and captivated by the richness of European civilization, he attempted simultaneously to find some good in the first, to conserve the second, and to reconcile both. The most valuable passages in this rich volume are those devoted to his long campaign to enlist fellow churchmen and fellow schoolmen in the preservation of Norse culture. Although such attempts, it appears, end, after a few generations, in defeat, all native Americans should rejoice when the foreign born or their de-

scendants crusade, ingenuously and idealistically, to bring together the best elements of Old World and New. Such a crusader was Rölvaag and such, one concludes, are his biographers.

TREMAINE McDOWELL

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
MINNEAPOLIS

A History of the Settlement of German Mennonites from Russia at Mountain Lake, Minnesota. By FERDINAND P. SCHULTZ, teaching assistant in history, University of Minnesota. (Minneapolis, published by the author, 1938. 119 p. Illustrations.)

Here is another bright detail for the mural of Minnesota. Four hundred years ago a priest in north Holland renounced the Catholic church and became the leader of a persecuted heretic sect. Taking their name from his, Mennonite from Menno Simon, his followers and their descendants have sought in many countries the freedom to follow their own design for life and worship. Some of them found a measure of it for a time in Prussia, but growing militarism there so threatened their principle of nonresistance that many moved on, at the invitation of Catherine the Great, to the steppes of southern Russia on the northern shores of the Black Sea. There, rewarded for their sober thrift and model farms by the grant of virtual autonomy, they lived in peace and prosperity until Alexander II's reactionary program of Russianization suggested again the expediency of emigration. The Mennonites turned to America, and America, eager for men to people its western lands, gave them welcome. Canada vied with Minnesota, Minnesota with Kansas, Nebraska, and Dakota, to present the most attractions to these hard-working farm folk who would be desirable settlers.

It was some eighteen hundred of these emigrants from Russia who, in the years from 1873 to 1880, established a Mennonite community in and about the village of Mountain Lake in Cottonwood County. The area was not raw wilderness when the Mennonites arrived; settlement had been under way long enough to lay the foundations for typical American institutions. The Mennonites, soon so numerous in the community that the responsibility for its development was entirely theirs, had to build on those foundations, but they stamped the structure of farm, village, church, and school with the mark of their own

culture and made the Mountain Lake settlement unique among Minnesota neighborhoods. Now, in the third and fourth generations, the circle is coming full round and Mountain Lake is once again hardly to be distinguished, at least by the casual eye, from other American communities.

That, very briefly, is the story Mr. Schultz has reconstructed in considerable detail. He has done a good job. He has collected his facts carefully from a wide variety of sources—Mennonite histories, newspapers, letters, diaries, community chronicles kept by some of the pioneers, personal interviews with old settlers, and his own experience as a member of the younger generation in the Mountain Lake community. He has put the facts together in a clear narrative, well rounded and always interesting, though told with the kind of scholarly restraint that leaves much of the drama and human color to be supplied by the reader's imagination.

The best chapters are the early ones, telling the story of the Mennonites, of Mountain Lake, and of how the two were joined. The later chapters on the development of the community are more generalized, less rich in specific incident. This we regret, for though the latter topic may be less colorful, it is at least equally significant. Surely for the purpose the author suggests in his introduction—that of contributing to a “detailed study of the specific processes and influences of the frontier” to the end of strengthening or modifying the Turner thesis—a fuller and more penetrating analysis of the interaction between the American frontier environment and the peculiar cultural pattern of the Mennonites would be in order. And the forces which have worked toward the assimilation of the Mennonites are worth more direct attention than the paragraph the author gives them (page 88).

But those are problems for further study rather than criticisms of the present work. In this reviewer's opinion, Mr. Schultz has certainly realized his hope of making a “worthwhile contribution to historical knowledge,” for he has lifted another strand free from the tangle of the obscure in Minnesota's origins. The work was originally prepared as a master's thesis in the University of Minnesota, at the suggestion of Dr. Ernest S. Osgood and under the direction of Dr. Theodore C. Blegen.

The book has apparently been published without benefit of experienced book designers or proofreaders, and several errors, mostly in

cross-reference page citations, have occurred in the printing. We hope for the time when funds will be available for publishing in proper and pleasing form these pieces of work that are worth distributing but that do not promise a wide enough market to pay for themselves. Until that time we must be grateful for having them made available in any form.

HELEN B. CLAPESATTLE

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
MINNEAPOLIS

Wind Without Rain. By HERBERT KRAUSE. (Indianapolis, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1939. 364 p. \$2.50.)

A good many rural novels have slipped from the presses since Hamlin Garland first ventured to depict the everyday life of the Middle Western farmer. Writers have learned that threshing and ploughing, corn husking and barn dances are just as valid material for fiction as life in the tenements or in the night clubs. Indeed, recent agrarian fiction has been distinguished for its sharp, unsparing realism, frequently couched in a style sprinkled with Anglo-Saxon words of one syllable.

Herbert Krause's novel of a German Lutheran community in Otter Tail County is even blunter and franker than most farm novels. For the characters of *Wind Without Rain* are earthy, coarse, toiling creatures weighed down by work and adversity. The Vildvogel family is tyrannized over by a grim and brutal father, whose dogged industry is matched only by his mismanagement of the farm and his failure to treat his wife and sons as human beings. To him they are work animals, his to order about and punish as he wills. The result is that Minna dies, Walter and Fritzie run away, and Franz and crippled Jeppy are left to run a farm that all six in good health could not make prosper. There is little gaiety in *Wind Without Rain* but rich local color: pig-sticking, German school supervised by the Lutheran pastor, a christening, "shindandies" where fiddlers cause pulses to beat fast and beer flows freely, Sabbath mornings when the pastor thunders hell-fire and damnation and alludes unmistakably to the derelictions of his writhing parishioners. Mr. Krause has pictured sharply and bitterly the life of a homogeneous and isolated Minnesota farming community before the days of the automobile.

Artistically the novel is by no means flawless. It is obviously

overwritten, the writer's evident gift for picturesque language often leading him into strained similes and superfluous images. Moreover, the wealth of detail is overwhelming; in his second novel Mr. Krause might well consider such virtues as concision and selection. But the real power and vividness of *Wind Without Rain* allow the reader to overlook many a blemish. One does not immediately forget the abortive attempt of Franz to find release from labor in the strings of a fiddle, nor the general incubus of poverty and despair, nor the description of such dishes as *schwat Suer*—"black soup, made of new pig's blood and meat, butter-flecked and vinegary, full of potato dumplings and swelled-up prunes, and stringy pieces of chicken, heavy with a smell like sausage boiling."

JOHN T. FLANAGAN

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
MINNEAPOLIS

Trails of a Paintbrush. By NICHOLAS R. BREWER. (Boston, The Christopher Publishing House, 1938. 372 p. Illustrations. \$5.00.)

Students both of American cultural history and of pioneer life in the Middle West should be interested in this autobiography of a St. Paul artist. Here will be found the story, charmingly related, of a childhood spent in the Root River Valley of southern Minnesota; of a yearning to paint, which took the author to St. Paul in 1875; of years of struggle in a community that had little to offer in training or employment for a budding artistic talent; and of an ultimate success which now makes it possible for Mr. Brewer to record that "the trail of my exhibitions . . . has extended to fifty-nine cities in twenty-four states."

The author of this narrative is the son of a German immigrant who started for the West in the gold rush of 1849, changed his plans after reaching Missouri, turned northward, and eventually settled near what became the village of High Forest in Olmsted County. There, in 1857, Nicholas was born. In the fertile valley of the Root River, he records, "life was easy to support. Clothes, a little coffee, flour, and seasoning, and a roof overhead were all that was needed to raise a family of husky boys. Wild plums, crabapples, and berries grew everywhere. The snow-covered forest was lined with rabbit paths," and small game of all kinds was abundant. The boy was kept busy

plowing, reaping, churning, milking, and attending the one-room log school of the neighborhood. Nevertheless he found time to watch his father work at the forge and lathe, where he constructed a lumber wagon, furniture for the cabin, and other useful articles; to attend the first circus to visit the vicinity; and above all to indulge his natural instinct for drawing.

Two delightful chapters on boyhood experiences are followed by an account of early years in St. Paul. The youth was disappointed to find that in 1875 the "town possessed neither art nor artists," but he finally found a "German named Henry J. Koempel, who painted copies of pictures and decorated churches" and who agreed to give the ambitious boy lessons at fifty cents each. As the city grew, it offered greater opportunities, and eventually Mr. Brewer came to know there such leaders in the world of American painting as Homer Martin, Alexis Fournier, and Charles N. Flagg. The cultural development of the Twin Cities is reflected in these pages, which contain accounts of the Minneapolis exposition of the 1880's, "with eight or ten large galleries for the display of painting and sculpture," of the beginnings of the Minneapolis Institute of Art, and of the private collection of James J. Hill in St. Paul.

Noteworthy too are Mr. Brewer's characterizations of prominent Minnesotans whose portraits he painted — Archbishop Ireland, Pierce Butler, Frank B. Kellogg, Bruno Beaupre, Governor Johnson, and many others. Several of these portraits are reproduced in the volume. Illustrated also are sketches of the cabin in which the author was born and the log school that he attended, and paintings of such Minnesota scenes as the "Mills of Minneapolis" and "Winter on the Mississippi." Unfortunately, many of the reproductions fail to do justice to the original paintings. The book is marred also by numerous typographical errors. Both text and illustrations possess much merit, and they deserved kinder treatment at the hands of a publisher.

BERTHA L. HEILBRON

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ST. PAUL

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

DR. TREMAINE McDOWELL ("Regionalism in American Literature") is associate professor of English in the University of Minnesota and a recognized authority in the field of American literature. He is one of the compilers of an anthology entitled *American Sketchbook* which was reviewed in this magazine for December, 1938. The Reverend George Henry Gunn ("Peter Garrioch at St. Peter's, 1837"), is a Presbyterian minister at East Lockport, Manitoba, who is engaged in editing a diary of unusual interest for Middle Western history. It is this diary, which was kept by his uncle, that he exploits in the present article. Mr. Gunn is a grandson of the pioneer Manitoba historian, Donald Gunn. Dr. John T. Flanagan ("Fredrika Bremer: Traveler and Prophet") continues in this issue his series of articles on the Minnesota visits of famous authors. Dr. Flanagan, who is assistant professor of English in the University of Minnesota, has recently returned from California, where he spent some time in research at the Huntington Library. Dr. Charles W. Nichols ("The Northampton Colony and Chanhassen"), associate professor of English in the University of Minnesota, presents in this number the last of three articles on the Northampton Colony and its members, based upon the papers of his grandfather. G. Hubert Smith ("Excavating the Site of Old Fort Ridgely") directed for the National Park Service the excavations that he describes in this article. He is now serving as archaeologist at Fort Laramie, Wyoming. Laura M. Hamilton ("Stem Rust in the Spring Wheat Area in 1878") is a clerk in the bureau of entomology and plant quarantine of the United States department of agriculture at the University Farm in St. Paul. The present study was made under the direction of Dr. E. C. Stakman, who suggests that it is especially significant as an illustration of the value of the historical approach to scientific problems. Dr. Herbert Heaton ("Business Records"), professor of history in the University of Minnesota, is the author of an *Economic History of Europe* and other important works. Evadene Burris Swanson ("The Manuscript Journal of Thoreau's Last Journey") is a graduate student in

history at the University of Minnesota. She located in the Huntington Library this journal of a Minnesota visit of 1861, which she here compares with a printed version that has long been available. Alice E. Smith ("Peter Rindisbacher: A Communication") is curator of manuscripts on the staff of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. The reviewers include Dr. Edgar B. Wesley, professor of education in the University of Minnesota; Helen Clapesattle, assistant editor at the University of Minnesota Press; and Bertha L. Heilbron, assistant editor of this magazine.

The 1939 summer tour and convention of the society will be held on June 15, 16, and 17, beginning with a trip on Thursday afternoon, June 15, to Rochester. An evening program at that place will include a paper on the story of early Rochester by Miss Helen Clapesattle of the University of Minnesota Press. The stay at Rochester will be marked by a visit to the Mayo Clinic and medical museum, and also by the dedication of the museum of the Olmsted County Historical Society. On Friday the tour will be continued to Harmony, where a luncheon program will be held, and thence down the scenic Root River Valley to the Mississippi and Winona. There a dinner meeting will be held, the principal feature of which will be an illustrated lecture on upper Mississippi River steamboating by Dr. William J. Petersen of the University of Iowa and the State Historical Society of Iowa. Dr. Petersen, who is known to many as "Steamboat Bill," is the author of a recent book telling the colorful history of the upper river. On Saturday the tourists will push northward along the river route—a drive famed for its picturesque beauty. The final session will be held at old Frontenac on Lake Pepin, not far from the site of Fort Beauharnois, established by the French in 1727. This tour will be the seventeenth held under the society's auspices. Announcements giving further details of the program are being mailed to members of the society.

At a meeting of the society's executive council on April 17, Dr. John M. Armstrong of St. Paul and Mr. William H. Bovey of Minneapolis were elected to membership in the council. Following the meeting, a special program, which was attended by more than a hundred members and friends of the society, was presented in the auditorium of the Historical Building. Dr. Grace Lee Nute of the society's staff spoke briefly on the early history of Prairie du Chien,

Wisconsin, stressing particularly its relation to the story of Minnesota. Her talk served as an introduction to the principal address of the evening, which was delivered by the Reverend L. R. Cooper of Prairie du Chien. Under the title "Exploring Old Prairie du Chien," he presented an account, illustrated by slides, of the excavations recently conducted under his direction on the site of Fort Crawford. A special exhibit of objects unearthed by workers engaged in this Wisconsin archaeological project was placed on display in the society's museum in connection with the program.

The Minnesota Historical Society "is doing wonderful work in acquiring, preserving and classifying the various records not only of the State of Minnesota but generalizing as well on anything which is of importance to neighboring states and our own Dominion of Canada," writes Mr. J. P. Bertrand in the *Port Arthur News-Chronicle* of March 24, after a visit to the Historical Building in St. Paul. He reports, too, that the society is successfully "stimulating interest, through the various county historical societies," in local backgrounds, and is making an "economic contribution" by encouraging the "intelligent preservation" by counties of materials relating to the past, which "will not only assist them in maintaining but in increasing" the state's valuable tourist trade.

One life member, Mr. Julian B. Baird of St. Paul, and twenty-seven annual members joined the society in the first three months of 1939. The names of the latter follow: George A. Barnes of Redwood Falls, Louis H. Burbey of Detroit, Michigan, Rev. James F. Cecka of St. Paul, Guy Chase of St. Paul, John P. Devany of Minneapolis, Louis C. Dorweiler, Jr., of Minneapolis, Carl A. W. Franzmann of St. Paul, George W. Gauthier of St. Paul, Mrs. E. W. Kohlsaot of St. Paul, Dr. Henry Lysne of Minneapolis, Malcolm B. McDonald of Minneapolis, Dr. George W. Moore of Hopkins, Dr. James Morrow of Austin, Albert G. W. Nelson of Scandia, John M. O'Halloran of St. Paul, Dr. William G. Paradis of Crookston, Dr. Arthur H. Pedersen of St. Paul, William P. Randel of St. Paul, Frank F. Romberg of Sleepy Eye, Dr. C. W. Rucker of Rochester, C. R. Sattgast of Bemidji, Mrs. Harold H. Shepard of St. Paul, Dr. L. Sogge of Windom, Mrs. M. E. Stone of St. Peter, Dr. Jan H. Tillsch of Rochester, Mrs. Myrtle A. Vance of Washington, D. C., and Mrs. Elsie A. Van Dusen of Minneapolis.

The society now has 207 subscribing schools and libraries on its rolls. The public schools of Chandler, Clara City, Clearbrook, Halstad, and Hibbing, and the public libraries of Bovey, Detroit Lakes, and Taylor's Falls have recently been added to the list of subscribers.

During the three months from January 1 to March 31 the society lost the following eleven members by death: John Leslie of Minneapolis on January 20, Mrs. Luther Ford of Minneapolis on February 3, John B. Meagher of St. Paul on February 11, Haydn S. Cole of St. Paul on February 13, Harris Richardson of St. Paul on February 23, Mrs. William J. O'Toole of St. Paul on March 9, Samuel A. Challman of Minneapolis on March 11, John M. Freeman of Olivia on March 14, Frank Heywood of Minneapolis on March 16, George W. Granger of Rochester on March 22, and Joseph E. Smith of Minneapolis on March 23.

An interview with Mr. Babcock, in which he describes the ceremonies of the grand medicine society of the Chippewa, is reported by Fred S. Heaberlin in the magazine section of the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for January 1. Attention is called to some of the materials preserved by the Minnesota Historical Society relating to this Indian lodge.

The superintendent presented an address on "Ballads and Songs of Immigrant and Pioneer" at the junior college of La Salle, Illinois, on January 23, before the social science group of a district meeting of the Iowa State Teachers' Association at Mason City on March 24, and at the College of St. Catherine in St. Paul on March 29. He spoke on "Community Records" before a meeting of the Blue Earth County Historical Society at Mankato on January 11, on "Minnesota's Pioneer Citizens" for the Mendota chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution on February 16, on the Minnesota Historical Society and its work before the North Star chapter of the same organization on February 20, on "Grand Portage and the Early Fur Trade" at a meeting of the Minneapolis College Women's Club on February 27, on "Seeing Minnesota's Past through the Eyes of Contemporaries" at Northrop Collegiate School in Minneapolis on March 16, and on "Forwarding the Study of Local History" before a conference of rural teachers and county superintendents at Mason City, Iowa, on March 24. Mr. Babcock gave talks on

"Community Memory" before meetings of the Scott County Historical Society at Jordan on January 31 and the Hennepin County Historical Society at Edina on March 18, and he spoke on "Indian Lore" for a group of St. Paul Campfire guardians on February 21.

Letters and other manuscripts from the papers of the Reverend Henry M. Nichols, pioneer Presbyterian minister at Stillwater, were quoted by Miss Nute in a paper presented before the Friday Club of Stillwater on March 17. Nichols' papers were presented to the Minnesota Historical Society last year by his grandson, Professor Charles W. Nichols of the University of Minnesota, who based upon them the articles published *ante*, 19:129-147, 247-270. Items in this collection relating to Stillwater in the 1850's were used extensively by Miss Nute, whose paper appears in installments in the *Stillwater Post-Messenger* for March 23, 30, and April 6.

ACCESSIONS

The story of the westward migration of members of the Humphrey family from Connecticut to Ohio, Wisconsin, and Minnesota in the middle decades of the past century can be traced in a collection of papers recently presented by Mr. Jerome Baer of St. Paul. The central figure in the story is Marcus N. Humphrey, who was living at Hudson, Ohio, in the 1830's, when the earlier letters in the collection were written, and who had settled at Taylor's Falls in Minnesota by the early 1860's. He served as postmaster of the latter place for many years and in 1875 he was elected judge of probate for Chisago County. Letters of his wife, his children, his nephew, and other members of the family, many of whom resided at Taylor's Falls, are included in the collection, which covers the period from 1833 to 1898.

A letter written on May 30, 1853, from Fort Snelling by George Fuller, a civil engineer engaged in a government survey, has been presented by Mr. Harry W. Morris of Santa Cruz, California. It was written shortly after the writer's arrival at the frontier post and is addressed to his wife. "I find I was very much mistaken when I supposed that I was coming to the outskirts of civilization," Fuller confesses. He was surprised to find that the "country is thickly settled" and the "city of St Pauls has 5000 inhabitants." The writer describes his voyage up the Mississippi, with its "exceedingly bold and picturesque" scenery, to Fort Snelling, and his meeting with Isaac I.

Stevens, who was about to start westward on his famous Pacific railroad survey. With the letter, Mr. Morris has presented several charming views of upper Mississippi River scenes prepared by Fuller in Minnesota — miniature water-color paintings of Maiden Rock and Fort Snelling and a pencil sketch of Minnehaha Falls.

The interesting and unusual papers of Wilfred J. Whitefield, son of the artist, Edwin Whitefield, have been presented by his daughter, Mrs. John H. Law of Sauk Center. They include two records of trips in late territorial or early statehood days — one west from St. Paul via Fort Snelling, Bloomington, Carver, and the Big Woods to Sauk Lake, and thence down the Sauk Valley to St. Cloud; the other along the upper Mississippi from St. Paul to St. Cloud. The latter includes interesting comments on the roads, the taverns, the weather, and the countryside. A diary of forty large pages kept at the Whitefield farm near Sauk Center from November 1 to the end of 1859 tells of the arrival of a prairie schooner, of hunting deer, of following a trap line, of entertaining Indians, both Chippewa and Sioux, and of the arrival of Sir Francis Sykes and his hunting party on November 30 with "thirteen elk, twenty or thirty deer, a few moose & antelope, also several buffalo." The diarist goes on to tell the range of the hunt: "over several hundred miles, starting from Shayenne on Red River down through Pembina to Selkirk as far as Fort Garry." Typed copies of some twenty letters written by Whitefield as a member of Sibley's punitive expedition against the Sioux in 1863 are included in the gift. They are full of details about camps, lines of march, topography, Indian fighting, and frontier forts like Ridgely, Abercrombie, Ripley, and Snelling. Supplementing the letters is a little notebook in which Whitefield made pencil sketches on this expedition containing nearly fifty accurate illustrations of the history of the campaign. A few other papers relate to the events and persons of the same period.

A large collection of the papers of Hans Mattson, immigration agent, journalist, Minnesota secretary of state, United States consul at Calcutta, Civil War officer, accomplished linguist, author, and traveler, has been presented by his son, Mr. Edgar Mattson, and his grandson, Mr. Edgar M. Jaeger, both of Minneapolis. Included are letters, commissions, four diaries, an account book, three scrapbooks, minutes of meetings of the Scandinavian-American Publishing Com-

pany for 1890, and many other items. Two long letters that Mattson wrote to his children from India in 1882 are in a sense an autobiography, for they tell charmingly the story of his life, and particularly of his experiences after emigrating from Sweden. The diaries, which were kept at intervals from 1868 to 1889, afford a record of Mattson's experiences while serving in Sweden as immigrant agent for Minnesota, while traveling in various European countries, in India, and in New Mexico, and while serving as Minnesota secretary of state. In the scrapbooks are hundreds of clippings from Swedish and American newspapers for the period from about 1860 to 1890 relating to such subjects as the Civil War, activities of veterans' organizations, Christopher C. Andrews' service as American minister to Sweden, the Maxwell Land Grant Company, of which Mattson was the American agent, and the attractions of Minnesota as advertised in the newspapers of Sweden and the East. With this collection are many of the papers of Mattson's son-in-law and daughter, Mr. and Mrs. Luth Jaeger of Minneapolis. There are numerous articles and addresses prepared by Jaeger, a well-known Norwegian-American journalist, and many items of correspondence, including letters from Jacob Fjelde, the sculptor. Many of Mrs. Jaeger's papers relate to her activities in numerous women's organizations, including the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, the National Woman's Party, the Scandinavian Woman Suffrage Association, and the like.

A letter written from Sauk Center on October 27, 1862, by Lieutenant Colonel S. Nasmith is among several letters of Sioux War interest recently presented by his son, Mr. J. S. Nasmith of Marion, New York. The inspection of troops stationed at Hutchinson, Kingston, Forest City, Paynesville, Richmond, and Mannanah is mentioned by the writer, who remarks that troops are needed at these points to keep the settlers in their homes.

Three small Sioux and Civil war diaries kept by Edson D. Washburn, a member of Company E, Eighth Minnesota Volunteer Infantry, have been presented by his son, Mr. Edson Washburn of St. Paul. They contain a record of Washburn's service in 1863 at Fort Ripley and Paynesville, where his company was stationed for the protection of the Minnesota frontier after the Sioux Outbreak, as a member of the Sully expedition, and in the South.

An account of a hunting expedition of 1866, with Pierre Bottineau as guide, is included in a letter written from Lake Minnetonka, recently copied for the society from the *Springfield* [Massachusetts] *Weekly Republican* of September 8, 1866, in which it was published. Among other items transcribed from a file of this paper in the Boston Public Library are accounts of the Vermilion Lake gold rush, references to Minnesota crop prospects in 1869, and descriptions of St. Paul, Rochester, Duluth, and Minneapolis. An article on the latter city reports that in 1868 "eight flouring mills, six planing mills, eight saw-mills, two woolen mills, one paper and one oil mill" were dependent upon the water power of the Falls of St. Anthony. From the *Advance*, a Chicago paper, copies have been made of articles about a Northern Pacific Railroad excursion of 1871; about Julia Laframboise and Sioux missions in South Dakota, by Stephen R. Riggs; and about the Bois Fort band of Chippewa, by S. N. Clark, an Indian agent.

Twenty-two volumes of records for the period from 1872 to 1926 of Trinity Lutheran Church of St. Paul, formerly called the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Trinity Church, have been presented by the church through its secretary, Mr. Alden Peterson. Included are minutes of meetings of the congregation from 1875 to 1913, treasurers' accounts and records of contributors, and minutes of meetings of church societies. The records are written mainly in Norwegian.

A collection of letters, clippings, scrapbooks, speeches, and other items from the papers of Frank M. Nye, who served as a Minnesota Congressman from 1907 to 1911, and of his brother, Edgar W. Nye, famed as a humorist under the name of Bill Nye, is the gift of the former's son, Mr. Edgar W. Nye of Minneapolis. Two scrapbooks of Frank Nye contain a record of his career as prosecuting attorney of Hennepin County, Congressman, and district judge. Among several letters of Bill Nye is one dated May 24, 1881, and written on the letterhead of the *Daily Boomerang*, the paper that he edited at Laramie City, Wyoming; and another penned at Hudson, Wisconsin, in August, 1885, when he was living on a St. Croix Valley farm near the home of his childhood. There is also a program of a performance presented in 1889 by Nye and James Whitcomb Riley, and a letter written after the humorist's death to his brother by Riley.

A small group of papers of Charles W. Brandborg, who was president of the Otter Tail County Farmers' Alliance in the 1890's, has been presented by his son, Mr. Harris A. Brandborg of Henning. Among them are letters from leaders of the Farmers' Alliance in Minnesota, and clippings and pamphlets relating to the activities of the Socialist Labor party in the state after 1900. From Mr. Brandborg also has been received a collection of important Socialist Labor newspapers. Included are an incomplete file of *The People* of New York, for the years from 1896 to 1926; three issues of the *National View* of Washington, D. C., for 1893; Chicago papers, such as the *Sentinel*, *Unity*, and the *Vanguard*, for the early 1890's; issues of the *Journal of the Knights of Labor* of Philadelphia for 1890 and 1892; the *Tocsin* of Minneapolis for December 22, 1898, and June 3, 1899; and the *Referendum* of Faribault for May 7 and December 17, 1910.

Two volumes of records of the Pioneer Rivermen's Association have been presented by Mrs. Jessie B. Clark of St. Paul, a daughter of Captain Fred A. Bill, who was secretary or president of the organization from its inception in 1915 until his death in 1936. Included are minutes of meetings held from 1915 to 1922, correspondence, treasurers' records, biographical sketches of members, and newspaper clippings of obituaries. The association was composed of persons who had been employed in steamboating or rafting on the Mississippi and its tributaries or the Red River.

Master's theses on "Farm Labor Parties in the United States, 1918-1925" by Cecil R. Crews and on the "Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota" by Howard A. Merritt, prepared at the University of Wisconsin in 1935 and 1937, have been photographed for the society through the courtesy of the university library.

A great deal of Minnesota material of unusual interest is included in seven volumes of typewritten and photostatic family records recently presented by the genealogical records committee of the Minnesota Daughters of the American Revolution. From the *Duluth Minnesotian*, the first newspaper published in Duluth, records of marriages and deaths, 1869-75, are copied. Marriage records from official record books in the St. Louis County Courthouse covering the years 1871-85 have been copied and arranged in alphabetical lists, convenient for consulting. Among miscellaneous items also copied from

early issues of the *Duluth Minnesotian* are lists of jurors, delinquent tax lists, and real-estate transfers. Diaries and letters of Uriah S. Karmany of Mankato, George Barnum of Duluth, and Milan M. Chase of Afton, Minnesotans who took active parts in campaigns of the Civil War, and Chase's diary of a trip to Minnesota in 1857 are included. A reminiscent account by Addie Van Alstine entitled "Sketch of life in Early days, Iowa and Minnesota" gives a charming picture of a happy childhood in the 1860's. The Bible records, ancestral charts, and family histories presented in these volumes will be of much value to genealogists.

Among several recently acquired items from the estate of the late A. C. Loring of Minneapolis is a volume by Asa P. Brooks entitled *The Reservation: A Romance of the Pioneer Days of Minnesota and of the Indian Massacre of 1862* (235 p.). Neither date nor place of publication is given, but an author's inscription of 1908 appears on the title page. The narrative, which is "largely fiction," tells of the immigration of several German families from the Oberamergau region in the 1840's, of their settlement in Minnesota, and their experiences in the Sioux War. *The Church and the Indians: Shay-day-ence, or the Little Pelican* (New York, 1876. 15 p.) is a narrative written by the Reverend J. A. Gilfillan, a well-known Episcopal missionary in northern Minnesota. It tells of a Chippewa medicine man who was born at Gull Lake, was converted at the White Earth Reservation, and became a missionary. *A Year in Manitoba* (London, 1883. 116 p.) includes an account by a retired British army officer of a trip across northern Minnesota from Duluth to Glyndon, St. Boniface, and Winnipeg.

Recent additions to the costume and accessories collection include a gentleman's vest of white brocaded silk, worn about 1857, from Dr. J. M. Armstrong of St. Paul; a white brocaded silk wedding gown of 1890, from Mrs. Paul N. Myers of St. Paul; a black silk cape shawl, a black lace scarf, and several fans from Miss Ann Berryhill of Cleveland, Ohio; and a white scarf, a souvenir of the St. Paul Ice Palace of 1887, from Miss Nellie Dunn of Dellwood.

Several bronze World War medals, a Lafayette medal, and a number of other items of numismatic interest are the gifts of Miss Theresa Erickson of Minneapolis.

Two swords obtained by Captain William H. Hart of the Thirteenth Minnesota Volunteer Infantry in the Philippine Insurrection and a Lincoln presidential campaign medal have been presented by Judge Kenneth G. Brill of St. Paul. From Mr. L. H. Chapman of St. Paul have been received canteens and other items of Civil War interest that his father, George H. Chapman, picked up on the battlefield of Shiloh in 1864. Uniforms, belts, a helmet, a sabre, and other items of military dress used by the late Colonel Haydn S. Cole while a student at the United States Military Academy at West Point and while serving as an army officer are the gifts of his son, Dr. Wallace Cole of St. Paul.

A large oil portrait of the Reverend Samuel G. Smith, who served for many years as the pastor of the Peoples Church of St. Paul, has been received from members of the congregation through the courtesy of Mrs. Woodard Colby. Mrs. E. P. Brush of Fergus Falls has presented twenty-eight photographs of members of the Minnesota house of representatives of 1889.

NEWS AND COMMENT

"HISTORY is a wonderful hobby, and it is strange that more people do not study one period of it and make it their own," writes Lady Tweedsmuir in an essay on "The Amateur Historian" which appears in the March issue of the *Canadian Historical Review*. The amateurs, she suggests, "sometimes help to reveal something in the darkness of the past which has been left out and forgotten in the march of time. The great thing," she continues, "which both the professional and non-professional seeker after historical truth have in common is a love of the subject, a reverence for the history of man, and a deep anxiety to find out as near as possible the truth." She points out that some "non-professional historians have had their triumphs. They have sometimes fallen heir to rich stores of material in old houses, and have edited letters and manuscripts with intelligence and skill," or they have "discovered some valuable manuscripts in a famous library which had been completely overlooked." The suggestion is made that the study of history may "help us to avoid some of our worst mistakes; it may show us, at any rate, what not to do."

To a series of articles dealing with "Books That Changed Our Minds" in the *New Republic*, Charles A. Beard contributes a discussion, in the issue of February 1, of Frederick Jackson Turner's *The Frontier in American History*. Turner's Chicago address of 1893 "was destined to have a more profound influence on thought about American history than any other essay or volume ever written on the subject," writes Dr. Beard. He points out that "At the age of thirty-two Turner had matured his conception of American history and given it to the world. That was in truth enough for one man to do in a lifetime."

In the *American Archivist* for January, Albert Ray Newsome makes a plea for "Uniform State Archival Legislation." Such legislation, "based upon the most effective laws anywhere," he asserts, "would seem to be the most direct course to a general improvement in the administration of state and local archives." He suggests that

the Society of American Archivists should "formulate the best existing archival legislation in the states and endeavor to mobilize all available support in obtaining uniform or similar laws in all of the states."

The work of the Historical Records Survey and the WPA in compiling and publishing inventories of state and local archives, of federal archives located in the states, and of American imprints is described and evaluated by Luther H. Evans in an article on "Government and Local History" which appears in the *Pacific Historical Review* for March. When this program is "brought to completion," writes Mr. Evans, it will "provide the local historian with bibliographies more adequate to guide and assist him in his work than have ever been prepared in advance for the student of any field of scholarly work." He expresses the belief that "these bibliographies will give stimulus to the already significant movement to study local history scientifically, as the basis for a reevaluation of national history."

Topics relating to Minnesota history appearing in the *List of Doctoral Dissertations in History Now in Progress at American Universities*, issued by the Carnegie Institution of Washington in December, 1938, include "The Progressive Movement in Minnesota, 1900-1912" by Wilfred O. Stout, Jr. (Princeton), "The Non-partisan League" by Robert H. Bahmer (Minnesota), "The Farmer-Labor Party in Minnesota" by Renata R. Wasson (Minnesota), and "The Catholic Church in Minnesota, 1850-1918" by Sister Grace McDonald (Minnesota). Among other items of Northwest interest listed are "The Liquor Traffic and the Jesuit Missions of the Northwest" by the Reverend Joseph P. Donnelly (St. Louis), "Wisconsin Lumber Industry" by Bernard Kleven (Minnesota), "The Correspondent in the West, 1850-1860" by Thomas W. Tweito (Iowa), "The Administration of the Public Domain in South Dakota" by Charles I. Green (Iowa), "The Administration and Disposal of the Public Lands in Iowa" by Roscoe L. Lokken (Iowa), "The Opening of the Black Hills of Dakota, 1861-1876" by Olaf T. Hagen (Minnesota), and "Frontier Conditions in Wisconsin" by Charles J. Kennedy (Wisconsin).

The *Americana Collection of Herschel V. Jones: A Check-List [1473-1926]* compiled by Wilberforce Eames has been privately printed and issued in an edition of two hundred volumes by William

E. Rudge's Sons (New York, 1938. 220 p.). This beautifully printed bibliography represents the last work of Dr. Eames, who left the preface incomplete when he died in December, 1937. The *Check-List* of some 1,750 titles, chronologically arranged, is, according to the compiler, "intended to be a complete record of the very remarkable Americana library formed by the late Herschel V. Jones of Minneapolis." Bibliographical references are supplied for each title, and the list is carefully indexed. The value of the Jones collection is stressed by Lathrop C. Harper in an "Appendix to Preface," in which he ventures the opinion that "this is undoubtedly the finest collection of Americana in private hands."

Some twenty-five items are listed in the Minnesota section of Henry Putney Beers's *Bibliographies in American History: Guide to Materials for Research* (New York, 1938. 339 p.). Included are the bibliographical publications of the Minnesota Historical Society, several articles that have appeared in its quarterly magazine and its series of *Collections*, and Theodore C. Blegen's study outline entitled *Minnesota, Its History and Its People*.

Sections on the Chippewa, the Winnebago, and the Sioux are included in the *Indian Costume Book* recently published by Julia M. Seton (Santa Fe, 1938. 212 p.). Detailed descriptions of articles of clothing worn by members of each tribe are presented, with instructions for making them. Decorative devices, such as beading and embroidery, and the designs followed in employing them also are discussed. Illustrative drawings by Ernest Thompson Seton visualize the costumes and designs. Habitations, games, pipes, and certain customs of the Indians also receive attention in this very interesting volume, which is a product of the Seton Village Press.

"Viking Weapons Found Near Beardmore, Ontario," in 1930 are described in the March issue of the *Canadian Historical Review* by C. T. Currelly, who tells how he acquired these objects for the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, of which he is director. According to Dr. Currelly, the pieces found "formed a set" similar to a number that in the past "have been found in Scandinavia." Pictures of the weapons, which the writer believes date from about the year 1000 A. D., appear with the article. The relationship of this find to the problem of the Norse voyages to America is brought out in the

same number of the review by W. S. Wallace, who contributes a survey of the "Literature Relating to the Norse Voyages to America." This writer devotes considerable space to the subject of the Kensington rune stone and the writings of Mr. Hjalmar R. Holand and others relating to it. While Mr. Wallace is "profoundly sceptical" about many of Mr. Holand's conclusions, he finds "it easier to believe that the Kensington rune-stone is genuine than that it is a modern forgery."

Many aspects of social and cultural life among Norwegian Americans in the Northwest are touched upon by N. N. Rønning in his recently published autobiography, *Fifty Years in America* (Minneapolis, 1938. 243 p.). In the earlier chapters the writer describes his Norwegian background and tells of his American education, in the public schools of Faribault, at Red Wing Seminary, and at the University of Minnesota in the nineties. His experiences "As a Writer and Editor" and "In the Publishing Business" are the subjects of two chapters. The latter deals with the Norwegian Lutheran church papers to which Mr. Rønning has devoted much of his life.

In a discussion of "Banvard's Panorama and the Flowering of New England," appearing in the December issue of the *New England Quarterly*, Dorothy Dondore suggests that the "really striking thing about the exhibition" of the most successful of the Mississippi panoramas in Boston was "that men saw in it what they wanted to see." An abolitionist editor made a review of the panorama a point of departure for a "characteristic exhortation" on the evils of slavery; dwellers on stony hill farms became discontented with their lots after viewing this picture of the fertile valley; and several New England writers were stimulated to record their impressions in the literature of their day. Miss Dondore notes that Longfellow was "one of the earliest literary visitors" to a showing of Banvard's panorama, and that its influence is evident in at least two of his works. She believes that "Whittier got from the Panorama [of Banvard] the title poem for his 1856 volume, *The Panorama and Other Poems*," from which she quotes at length. She refers also to "this or a similar Mississippi panorama" mentioned in a Thoreau essay published in 1862. Thoreau's reference to the "fresh ruins in Nauvoo" in the picture that he viewed precludes all possibility that he saw Banvard's painting,

which showed the Mississippi only from the mouth of the Missouri to New Orleans.

The *County Fair* that has become so picturesque a feature of rural life in America is the subject of a recently published booklet by Phil Stong with numerous photographic illustrations by Josephine von Miklos and others (New York, 1938). Mr. Stong devotes much of a section on "Racing at the Fairs" to the "incomparable Dan Patch" and his owner, M. W. Savage of Minneapolis, "who will probably go down in history as the greatest harness-horse showman of all time." Savage and his famous pacer figure prominently also in Dwight Akers' volume entitled *Drivers Up: The Story of American Harness Racing* (New York, 1938. 367 p.). This writer pictures Dan Patch at Memphis, at Lexington, at the Minnesota State Fair, where, in 1906, "before a crowd of ninety-three thousand, the largest ever assembled at a harness racing track, he paced a mile in 1:55." A record of 1:55¼ made a year earlier, according to Mr. Akers, for technical reasons "stands on the books of harness racing as his fastest record. Today, after thirty-three years, that figure remains the record for the world's fastest mile in harness." The writer makes some interesting comments upon the use of Dan Patch made by Savage, who "saw no reason for drawing a hard and fast line between his pleasures and his business opportunities." By linking the "name of the pacing marvel of the ages to the name of his manufactured product," writes Mr. Akers, Savage "was but anticipating a device that over the air today links toothpastes and prima donnas, food products and symphony orchestras."

A chapter on the "Discovery and Early Development of the Iron Ranges," by Carl Zapffe, is included in a volume on *Lake Superior Iron Ores* compiled and published by the Lake Superior Iron Ore Association (Cleveland, 1938. 364 p.). The volume is of value chiefly for a comprehensive "Directory of Lake Superior Iron Mines," arranged under the names of the individual ranges, with tables of shipments from each mine by years; and for the many other tables, charts, and maps that are included.

Recollections of the Sibley expedition of 1863 by Harry L. Patch, who accompanied it as a horse herder, are presented in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for February 12. The author was born at St. An-

thony in 1850 and was thus a boy of thirteen when the expedition started westward. Nevertheless, he gives a vivid picture of the march, of Indian battles, and of western forts.

Dr. John T. Flanagan, whose article on Fredrika Bremer appears in the present issue of this magazine, contributes a review of the career of "Morgan Neville, Early Western Chronicler" to the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* for December, 1938. Neville, according to Dr. Flanagan, is remembered chiefly for his tale "The Last of the Boatmen," which "remains a landmark in early western fiction." There he "succeeded in characterizing memorably the keel-boats and their crews that once dominated the Ohio River from Pittsburgh southward," and in presenting a "remarkable portrait of that greatest of all the bullies and rafters who once ruled the western rivers—Mike Fink."

Alexander Henry, Henry R. Schoolcraft, Dr. William Beaumont, and many other prominent frontier characters of the old Northwest figure in Raymond McCoy's booklet entitled *The Massacre of Old Fort Mackinac* (1938. 90 p.). Interesting accounts of methods employed in the fur trade are included, and there is a descriptive statement of the layout of the fort. To illustrate the latter, the author supplies an imaginary drawing of "Old Fort Michilimackinac about 1765-66," based upon a map in the Gage Papers.

In a study of "Detroit Nationality Groups" which occupies the bulk of the space in the spring number of the *Michigan History Magazine*, Lois Rankin is concerned with the Bulgarians, Macedonians, Finns, Greeks, Hungarians, Italians, Yugoslavs, Lithuanians, Poles, Rumanians, Russians, Syrians, and Ukrainians who have settled in the Michigan metropolis. The writer locates these foreign groups, and discusses their religious affiliations, social life, organizations, newspapers, occupations, contributions to community culture, and the like.

An unusual contribution to western cultural history is made by John Francis McDermott in a recent volume entitled *Private Libraries in Creole Saint Louis* (Baltimore, 1938. 186 p.). It consists of an interesting essay on "Cultural Conditions on the Confines of a Wilderness" and of catalogues of libraries owned by French citi-

zens of frontier St. Louis from 1764 to 1857. Lists of books have been drawn from records of estates to be found in the early French and Spanish archives of the city and in files of the probate court. Mr. McDermott discovered records showing that among the "six hundred and sixty-nine white inhabitants . . . who established themselves in Saint Louis between 1764 and 1800," there were "at least fifty-six (mostly heads of families) who possessed books." He believes "that there were in private libraries in Saint Louis before the Purchase between 2,000 and 3,000 volumes, not including duplicates." The interests and tastes of individual owners are reflected in the lists of their books; Pierre LaClède, for example, "emphasized political theory, especially as concerned with commerce and taxation," and "Auguste Chouteau was particularly interested in history and in the free-thinkers."

Descriptions of the area that was to become Minnesota are included in many of the "Guides to Iowa Territory" discussed by Jack T. Johnson in the March issue of the *Palimpsest*. Of significance both to Iowa and Minnesota historians are the handbooks on Wisconsin Territory published by Albert Lea and William R. Smith in 1836 and 1838. Mr. Johnson lists also a number of guides and descriptions issued after Iowa was organized as a territory in 1838, with much of what is now Minnesota within its borders. Included are Dr. Isaac Galland's *Iowa Emigrant*, J. H. Colton's *Sketches of Iowa*, and Major John B. Newhall's booklets on the territory.

That Henry H. Bennett of Kilbourn, Wisconsin, "photographed the Ice palace at St. Paul and the storming of the Ice palace by fireworks" in 1886 is brought out by A. C. Bennett in an article on "A Wisconsin Pioneer in Photography," appearing in the March number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*. According to the writer, "this is the first photographing of fireworks of which there is any record." In the same issue, Lillian Krueger continues her study of "Social Life in Wisconsin" (see *ante*, p. 86), giving special attention to sports and recreation.

The sprightly and informing inscriptions on *Montana Highway Historical Markers* have been assembled and made available for tourists in a pamphlet by Robert H. Fletcher (Helena, 1938). The markers, ninety-eight in number, are located on a useful index map.

The Utah State Historical Society has published a history of *Early Utah Journalism* by J. Cecil Alter (Salt Lake City, 1938. 405 p.). The volume, which bears the subtitle "A half century of forensic warfare, waged by the West's most militant Press," covers the period from 1850 to 1900. The arrangement is alphabetical, under the names of the communities in which newspapers were published.

Eight articles by Margaret A. MacLeod originally published in the *Winnipeg Free Press* are reprinted in a little pamphlet entitled *Bells of Red River* (1938. 41 p.). The first deals with "Lord Selkirk's Bell," presented to the Red River mission of Father Provencher in 1819, lost for many years, and recently discovered by Mrs. MacLeod in the basement of the Catholic Church of St. Francois Xavier. Among the subjects of other sketches in the pamphlet are a bell used by the Reverend John West in 1820, the famed "Bells of St. Boniface," bells used at old Fort Garry, and some early school bells.

GENERAL MINNESOTA ITEMS

Readers of this magazine will be interested in knowing that the general extension division of the University of Minnesota now offers a correspondence course in the history of Minnesota. Individuals or groups with qualified leaders may register at any time for the course, which was prepared by and is given under the direction of Miss Helen Clapesattle. It consists of an introduction and sixteen lessons—a comprehensive survey of the history of the state from the day of the red man to the present. Among the topics covered in some of the lessons are the French and British periods in the Northwest, American exploration and occupation, the organization of the territory, pioneer life, the admission of the state to the Union, participation in the Civil and Sioux wars, the development of lumbering, milling, mining, and agriculture, the "Rise of Cities and Labor," and "Aspects of Maturity." Access to Dr. Folwell's *History of Minnesota* and to a file of MINNESOTA HISTORY is required for registration; many other publications of the Minnesota Historical Society are included in the lists of readings that accompany the lessons; and students taking the course make use of Theodore C. Blegen's study outline

entitled *Minnesota, Its History and Its People*, issued by the University of Minnesota Press in 1937.

The most recent addition to the *Inventory of the County Archives of Minnesota* that is being published by the Minnesota Historical Records Survey (see *ante*, p. 89) is a volume dealing with Scott County (no. 70—307 p.). More than two hundred pages are occupied with a list of the archives preserved at Shakopee; the remainder are devoted to a historical sketch of Scott County, an account of "governmental organization and records keeping," and a description of the "housing, care, and accessibility of the records." Similar sections are to be found in a volume dealing with the archives of Faribault County at Blue Earth, which is dated October, 1938 (no. 22—256 p.). To its *Inventory of Federal Archives in the States*, the Historical Records Survey has added a list of the records of the Farm Credit Administration in Minnesota (1939. 63 p.).

The "exclusive right and privilege of investigating, exploring and surveying, by and through the person or persons it may license for that purpose as hereinafter provided, all aboriginal mounds and earthworks, ancient burial grounds, prehistoric ruins, fossil bone deposits," and the like in Minnesota are reserved to the state under the provisions of a bill passed by the Minnesota legislature of 1939 and approved on April 12 (Ch. 207, H. F. No. 1216). The licensing power is placed in the hands of an "archaeologist, who shall be appointed by the department of anthropology and archaeology of the University of Minnesota from among its staff and be attached to the department of the commissioner of conservation." The new law calls for an annual license fee of twenty-five dollars and requires that "50 per cent of all articles, antiques, fossil remains, implements and material found . . . shall remain the property of the state."

Miss Frances E. Andrews is the author of a sketch of Grand Portage in the February-March issue of *Outdoor America*, the official publication of the Izaak Walton League of America. She tells briefly of the "oldest settlement in Minnesota . . . with its treasure of hills, woods, and water," the wilderness trails that connect it with the high falls of the Pigeon River and the site of old Fort Charlotte,

and the Northwest Company stockade that is now being reconstructed under the auspices of the Minnesota Historical Society.

Dr. Guy Stanton Ford, president of the University of Minnesota, has named a committee to make plans for the publication of a comprehensive history of the university, according to an announcement in the *Minnesota Alumni Weekly* for February 18. Professor Andrew Boss is chairman of the committee and E. B. Pierce is recording secretary.

Much information about the beginnings of the University of Minnesota was presented by Clarence A. Dykstra, president of the University of Wisconsin, in a Charter Day address presented at a convocation on the Minnesota campus on February 16. The address appears in two installments in the *Minnesota Alumni Weekly* for February 25 and March 4.

Mr. Stan W. Carlson pays tribute to a coach who gave the best years of his life to the University of Minnesota in a little volume entitled *Dr. Henry L. Williams: A Football Biography* (Minneapolis, 1938. 132 p.). Three of the twenty-eight brief chapters are devoted to Dr. Williams' early life, education, and coaching experiences in the East before coming to Minnesota in 1900, and two deal with his experiences after his resignation more than two decades later. The remaining chapters are little more than accounts of victories and defeats on the part of twenty-two Minnesota football teams.

The decade from 1854 to 1864 is covered by Dr. John M. Armstrong in the three installments of his "History of Medicine in Ramsey County" appearing in the January, February, and March issues of *Minnesota Medicine* (see *ante*, p. 91). Accounts of pioneer doctors, dentists, and druggists, and of early hospitals in St. Paul are included in this narrative. Mention is made also of Minnesota's "first medical journal," the *Minnesota Homeopath* published by Dr. George Hadfield of St. Paul in 1859. Dr. Armstrong points out that the only known copy of this journal is owned by the Minnesota Historical Society. The writer has drawn extensively upon materials preserved by this society, including the census schedules for 1857 and 1860. From these sources he has compiled lists of physicians, dentists, and druggists then practicing in St. Paul and Ramsey County.

A completely revised version of the *Minnesota Capitol: Official Guide and History*, originally published by Julie C. Gauthier in 1907, has been issued by the office of the state auditor (1939. 81 p.). Much new material has been added—descriptions of the Minnesota Historical Building, the State Office Building, and the Science Museum; a brief sketch of Minnesota history; and an account of the state government. In addition to detailed descriptions of the exterior and interior of the Capitol, the guide proper includes sketches of its history and of Cass Gilbert, the architect. With the exception of the description of the Science Museum, which was prepared by its director, Dr. Louis H. Powell, the new sections were written by Mary W. Berthel of the staff of the Minnesota Historical Society, who also revised the portion relating to the Capitol and edited the booklet.

An abstract of a paper on the "Settlement of Minnesota," presented by Leonard S. Wilson before a meeting of the Association of American Geographers at Cambridge, Massachusetts, in December, 1938, appears in the *Annals* of the organization for March. Of Northwest and Minnesota interest also is an abstract of a study by S. Whittemore Boggs on the "Historical Geography of the United States-Canada Boundary."

A wealth of material relating to the history of the Red River Valley is to be found in a sixtieth anniversary edition of the *Weekly Record* of East Grand Forks, published on February 22. Many articles of general regional interest are included; among them are accounts of Indian tribes and mounds, of the buffalo herds that roamed the plains, of the exploration of the valley, of the fur trade, and of the Red River trails. Canadian connections are brought out in articles on the Selkirk colony and on the Riel rebellion of 1869. Steamboating on the Red River is the subject of several articles, and there are accounts of such river ports as Frog Point. The treaty of 1863, which opened this section of the Red River Valley to white settlement, is described. Separate articles are devoted to the organization of Polk County and the defining of its boundaries, and to the story of the founding of East Grand Forks in 1871. There are also accounts of agriculture in the Red River Valley, the coming of the railroads, the building of churches, schools, and hospitals, the development of mail service, and the growth of many local industries.

"The Good Old Days (Not So Long Ago) When the Livery Stable Was Busy Village Forum" are recalled by Dr. C. I. Oliver of Graceville in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for January 29. "The real big day of the year for the livery stable was the Fourth of July," writes Dr. Oliver. "All teams and conveyances were engaged weeks in advance" at a rate of ten dollars for the day. He relates that "most doctors had teams of their own which they drove in the day time, but depended on the Liveryman for the night trips."

A description of a journey from Norway to America and of settlement on the Minnesota frontier near Faribault before the Civil War opens a recently published booklet of *Memoirs of a Pioneer* by K. Neutson (37 p.). About 1874, Mr. Neutson records, "I entered as a clerk the insurance office of S. H. Jaques at Faribault, Minnesota and, with the exception of a few months' intermission . . . I continued in the business of fire insurance for over fifty years." Records of the writer's experiences in this business at various points in Minnesota are included. He presents also accounts of adventures in the Red River country, where he spent the years from 1870 to 1873. Of special interest are the illustrations, which include a view of Winnipeg in 1870 and pictures of the steamboat "Selkirk" on the Red River and of a York boat.

The February number of the *Vets Call*, a monthly publication issued at Fort Ridgely State Park, includes a number of letters and articles of historical interest. "Famous Names from Ridgely's Roster" is the title of a sketch of the fort's history, with special emphasis upon the military leaders who have figured in its story, contributed by G. Hubert Smith. The superintendent of the park, Floyd Tilden, is the author of a brief account of the excavations on the fort site and of the restoration of one of the buildings.

Sketches of William Pitt Murray, a prominent Minnesota pioneer, and his descendants are to be found in the *Murray-Conwell Genealogy and Allied Families*, compiled by Maude L. Lawrence and Geraldine L. Lombard (St. Paul, 1938. 115 p.). Much of the material for the volume was assembled in the library of the Minnesota Historical Society, according to Mrs. Winifred Conwell Murray Milne, who writes the preface.

Howdy Folks: Selections from the Writings, Verse and Speeches of Larry Ho is the title of a volume compiled by Laurence K. Hodgson (St. Paul, 1937. 249 p.). It serves as a fitting memorial to his father, Laurence C. Hodgson, a former mayor of St. Paul and a well-known journalist whose writings appeared under the pseudonym "Larry Ho."

LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

Although the life span of the Hennepin County Historical Society extends back little more than a year, the organization has assembled, catalogued, and arranged more than three thousand museum objects, manuscripts, and pictures. This impressive collection is to be found in the Village Hall of St. Louis Park, where the society has its headquarters in two large exhibit rooms and an office. With the exception of a few items of more than ordinary value, which are placed in the two or three glass cases available for display purposes, small museum objects are arranged on open tables. Among the latter are china and glassware, bells, toys, Indian objects, a set of cooper's tools, lamps and candlesticks, kitchen utensils, and small agricultural implements. Larger objects, such as spinning wheels, a grandfather clock, beds, chairs, and other items of furniture are arranged on the floor. Pictures and manuscripts are filed in a case, each occupying one large drawer. About a hundred prints from the Bromley collection of early Minnesota photographs and a copy of a portrait of Pierre Bottineau are among the more valuable items in the picture collection. Manuscripts include letters of such frontier leaders as John H. Stevens, John S. Pillsbury, and James J. Hill; some sermons of Gideon H. Pond; archives of Dayton Township; a Civil War muster roll of Company D, Sixth Minnesota Volunteer Infantry; and the records of a school at Wayzata. Five issues of the *Dakota Friend*, the rare newspaper issued by Gideon Pond in 1850 and 1851, have been acquired by the society.

The assembling and arranging of the collections of the Hennepin County society have been accomplished for the most part by twenty workers engaged in a WPA project under the direction of Mr. Edward A. Blomfield, who has charge of the museum. Fifteen workers have spent their time in collecting material; others have arranged and

accessioned the collections and prepared a card catalogue of all items. A scrapbook of clippings from county newspapers and other publications relating to the activities of the society supplies a valuable record of its progress since its organization on April 11, 1938. Many of these clippings relate to special exhibits of museum objects arranged by the society—at the county fair in Hopkins, in the Northwestern Bank Building of Minneapolis, in the buildings of the Minneapolis Gas Company and the Northwestern Telephone Company, at the Minneapolis Public Library, at Edina, and in Eden Prairie Township. The society is co-operating with the Hennepin County schools in gathering material for a history of the locality. The Hennepin County society has made an auspicious beginning. Its museum collections deserve a home in a fireproof building equipped with adequate display cases.

B. L. H.

At a meeting of the Anoka County Historical Society held at Anoka on February 13, reminiscent narratives prepared by Mrs. W. H. LaPlant and Mrs. Mary Faherty were presented.

More than a hundred people attended the annual dinner meeting of the Blue Earth County Historical Society, which was held at Mankato on January 11. An address was given by Dr. Theodore C. Blegen, superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, who discussed the preservation of historical source material by the local historical society, giving special attention to newspapers and manuscripts. The Blue Earth County society has made plans for a series of monthly meetings, the first of which was held on March 28, when Mr. Frank Babcock recalled some of the frontier experiences of his father and his grandfather, pioneers who settled in Blue Earth and Le Sueur counties.

The organization of a historical society for Carlton County is suggested in the *Carlton County Vidette* of Carlton for February 16. The paper notes that the need for such an organization had been pointed out by Mr. J. Emil Kangas of Esko, and it asks others who are interested to express their ideas on the subject.

More than thirteen hundred visitors have viewed the exhibits displayed in the museum of the Chippewa County Historical Society since it was opened to the public in May, 1937, according to an ac-

count of its activities in the *Dawson Sentinel* of January 20. In this issue Helen Blostad describes some of the more interesting displays in the museum and discusses the objectives of the society. She reveals that more than two thousand objects of local historical interest are on exhibit in this museum, which is maintained at Montevideo as a WPA project. Displays of interest both for Chippewa and Lac qui Parle counties are exhibited, since the latter county lacks a historical society and museum. The need for a historical museum in Lac qui Parle County is stressed by Mrs. Claribel O. Mongrain in the *Independent Press* of Madison for March 3.

"Incidents and Individuals of Days Gone By" in Goodhue County are briefly described by C. A. Rasmussen, president of the local historical society, in a section entitled "An Historical Potpourri" which began publication in the *Red Wing Daily Republican* of January 26. A similar section has been appearing also in the *Red Wing Daily Eagle*.

The suggestion that the "Old Carlson Barn" at Red Wing should be removed to a new site and used "for a local historical building in which to preserve the old furniture, utensils, books, pictures and paintings that might be donated or acquired before they are gone forever" is made by A. J. R. in his column, "With the Long Bow," in the *Minneapolis Journal* for January 20. He describes the barn as a "remarkable structure" that "was built in the early days of the native stone by an old world builder who was a natural artist," and he urges that it be transformed into a "historical building or museum for the use and benefit of the whole city."

Some recent accessions of the Grant County Historical Society are described by its secretary, W. H. Goetzinger, in the *Grant County Herald* of Elbow Lake for February 2, which devotes a section to "Historical Society Notes." A muzzle-loading pistol found recently on the old Red River trail near Stony Lake, a flintlock from an old gun picked up in Delaware Township in 1921, a spur found at Pomme de Terre, and an awl are among the items described.

At Edina on March 18 the Hennepin County Historical Society held the first of a series of program meetings that it is planning for various localities in the county. Mrs. Frank Archer reviewed the

history of the local Minnehaha Grange, in whose hall the meeting was held; Mr. Robert E. Scott, president of the society, called attention to the value of its work; and Mr. Willoughby M. Babcock, curator of the museum of the Minnesota Historical Society, spoke on "Community Memory." On March 8, Mr. Edward A. Blomfield, director of the society's museum collections, was interviewed about its activities by Florence Lehman over station WCCO.

The importance of preserving "private records, diaries, and letters with early information . . . in some place where they will not be subject to being destroyed by fire" is stressed in an editorial appearing in the *Willmar Tribune* for January 13. The writer points out that "In this state there have now been organized some fifty-odd county historical societies which function in connection with the state historical society," and that with these organizations the Kandiyohi County Old Settlers' Association may be grouped. "It would be a mighty fine thing," the writer continues, "if some fireproof room could be secured where under the auspices of this organization records bearing on past events . . . might be accumulated, classified and preserved." In the same editorial praise is accorded Mr. A. A. C. Bloomquist, Kandiyohi County clerk of court, for his work in assembling and caring for county archives.

A paper on "Early Day Remedies in Minnesota" was read by Dr. W. F. Wilson at a meeting of the Lake Pepin Valley Historical Society at Lake City on February 13.

The museum of the Hutchinson Historical Society was removed to new quarters in the basement of the local high school early in January. Mr. S. S. Beach, curator of the museum, announced that twelve new cases had been provided for the display of the society's collections.

Some two hundred and fifty objects of local historical interest have been assembled in the museum of the Morrison County Historical Society in the courthouse at Little Falls, according to a report of its president, Val E. Kasperek, which appears in the *Little Falls Daily Transcript* for January 21. Some of the items recently presented are listed with their donors in this and other issues of the *Transcript*. According to Mr. Kasperek's report, more than a thousand biographies of Morrison County pioneers have been recorded for the society.

Examples are being published from time to time in the Little Falls newspapers, the *Transcript* and the *Herald*.

A report on the work accomplished in 1938 by the Pope County Historical Society, prepared by C. G. Torguson, supervisor of a WPA project under its auspices, appears in the *Starbuck Times* for January 12. He reveals that thirteen workers engaged in the project have collected a wealth of material and prepared numerous special articles relating to the early history of the county, have located and excavated Indian mounds in the vicinity, have assembled records of school districts and churches, and have collected several hundred museum objects, manuscripts, books, and pamphlets for the society. Local newspapers have co-operated by publishing many of the articles prepared by Mr. Torguson and other workers. Noteworthy among them are accounts of "Skiing, Then and Now," appearing in the *Pope County Tribune* of Glenwood for February 2 and 9, and of a board of trade organized at Glenwood in 1883, in the *Glenwood Herald* for March 23.

The author of a recently published *Historical Sketch of the Parish of the Immaculate Conception, Faribault*, Miss Johanna M. O'Leary, was honored at a dinner meeting of the Rice County Historical Society at Faribault on February 20. On that occasion her book was reviewed by Dr. F. F. Kramer; a descriptive note on the volume appears *ante*, 19:475. Appearing on the same program were Genevieve Gustafson, who read a "History of the Faribault Library," and Richard Gaard, who reviewed the "Story of Shattuck."

The "Early History of the Floodwood Region" was reviewed by E. W. Johnson before an audience of some hundred and fifty people who attended a meeting of the St. Louis County Historical Society at Floodwood on January 27. Among other speakers on the program were Mr. D. T. Grussendorf, who discussed "Agriculture in the Floodwood Area," and Mrs. Carl Sandberg, who recalled her early experiences as a teacher in the vicinity.

Steps toward the permanent organization of the Scott County Historical Society were taken at a meeting held at Jordan on January 31, when a committee of five was named to draw up bylaws for the new organization. About forty people were present to hear Mr.

Willoughby M. Babcock, curator of the museum of the Minnesota Historical Society, read a paper on "Community Memory," and Mr. Richard R. Sackett, assistant supervisor of the Minnesota Historical Records Survey, discuss the work of the survey with special reference to Scott County.

In its editorial column for February 3, the *Henderson Independent* suggests that the "organization of a historical society for Henderson and Sibley county as a whole would prove a laudable undertaking."

More than a thousand objects of local historical interest have been assembled at St. Cloud for the museum of the Stearns County Historical Society, according to an announcement in the *St. Cloud Daily Times* for January 4. A list of donors from whom items have been received appears in the *Times* for January 18.

A log cabin once used as a residence will be removed to Trowbridge Park in Waseca and equipped for use as a museum by the Waseca County Historical Society, according to an announcement in the *Waseca Herald* for January 26. At the annual meeting of the society on January 21, the following officers were elected: Herman A. Panzram, president; Judge Fred W. Senn, vice-president; Arnold Runnerstrom, secretary; and C. H. Bailer, treasurer.

Papers on the early history of Lake Elmo by Maurice Sliney and Marion Stevens were read at a meeting of the Washington County Historical Society held at Lake Elmo on February 28.

About two hundred people attended a meeting of the Watonwan County Historical Society held at Butterfield on March 2. Many pictures, newspapers, and museum objects owned by Mr. George S. Hage, president of the society, were placed on display in connection with the meeting. Mr. R. E. Casey reviewed the history of the Butterfield schools, and sketches of Mennonite, Lutheran, and Presbyterian churches in the community were read. A history of the village, prepared for the meeting by Mr. J. O. Ness, appears in the *Butterfield Advocate* for March 9.

A local Finnish-American Historical Society was organized at Cokato on March 2. It plans to gather information about Finnish settlement at Cokato, Dassel, French Lake, and Kingston, and to publish an account of this subject.

LOCAL HISTORY ITEMS

The history of the Kiwanis Club of Anoka, which was chartered in 1922, was reviewed by O. E. Smith before a meeting of the organization held on January 11. Lists of officers and charter members and accounts of community service are included in the address, which is published in the *Anoka Herald* for January 18.

"Sketches of Pioneer Life in Big Stone County" by an "Old Timer" who has lived there since 1877 make up an interesting series that appears in the *Clinton Advocate* from January 4 to March 22. The writer describes the claim shanty to which his father took his family as a one-room structure measuring ten by twelve feet, with "rough board walls, dirt floor, board roof, and 'bunks' filled with wild hay for beds." He reports that "Housekeeping was an easy task, for as one of the girls wrote to a friend, 'we make up the beds with a pitchfork and sweep the floor with a shingle.'" Many similar sidelights on frontier domestic life are furnished in the narrative, which includes also some interesting accounts of pioneer holiday celebrations.

The career of a pioneer New Ulm photographer, Mr. A. J. Meyer, is the subject of an article in the *New Ulm Review* for March 6. In 1894, according to this account, Mr. Meyer "bought out Anton Gag, who was a photographer by trade though a painter at heart," acquiring not only Mr. Gag's studio, but his collection of negatives and the painting of the battle of New Ulm that is now owned by the Minnesota Historical Society.

The fiftieth anniversary of the incorporation as a village of Barnum in Carlton County is the occasion for the publication of a history of the village in the *Barnum Herald* of February 9. It includes a chronological list of events from the building of the railroad through the township in 1870 to 1928, and a detailed account of the incorporation of the village.

An interview with Mr. Darius C. Benjamin of Jackson, founder of the first newspaper at Mountain Lake, appears in the *Mountain Lake Observer* for March 9. Mr. Benjamin relates that he established his paper, which he called the *Mountain Lake View*, in December, 1893, and sold it the following September to Eugene E. Lane.

The Story of Pine Bend in Dakota County, prepared for members of the local scout club by Edward G. Dobrick, Jr., has been multi-graphed and issued in the form of a little pamphlet (15 p.). Geology, wild life, exploration, Indians, settlement, and steamboating are among the topics touched upon. The village is located on the Mississippi on the site of the Sioux village of Medicine Bottle, and the writer makes much of the story of this Indian chief.

An anniversary edition of the *Minneapolis Journal*, issued on November 24, marks the completion of sixty years of publication on the part of this paper. Among the articles of special interest in this number is an interview with Mr. Clarence French, who founded the *Journal* in November, 1878. After his newspaper office was destroyed by fire in 1881, he went to Monticello and founded the *Times*, according to Vivian Thorp, who records the interview. Many aspects of the progress of Minneapolis are considered in other sketches and articles. Among those dealing with phases of social history are accounts of early society, of the city's growth as a musical center, of changes in the theater, and of the progress of churches and schools. There are also articles on such sports as football, baseball, and golf; a review of political changes; an account of Minneapolis weather conditions during sixty years as recorded in the *Journal*; and a review of "direct news coverage of governmental affairs" at Washington. The reader is reminded that the years since the paper was founded have seen the "coming of telephone, trolley, auto, airplane."

The history of a Jewish congregation organized in Minneapolis in 1888 by immigrants from the Lithuanian section of Russia is reviewed in a *Golden Anniversary* booklet (44 p.) issued by Keneseth Israel Synagogue in April, 1938. The building of synagogues, the services of church leaders, the activities of church clubs, and the like are covered in the pamphlet.

The career of George F. Peterson, the *Scribe of Bear River*, who went to what was still the Minnesota frontier in 1911 and established the *Bear River Journal*, is reviewed by L. A. Rossman in a recently published pamphlet (Grand Rapids, 1938. 15 p.). The sketch is reprinted in installments in the *Daily Journal* of International Falls from January 16 to 19.

Church, county, and school records, and interviews were used by S. D. Lincoln in gathering material for a history of the Church of St. Rose de Lima, a French Catholic congregation at Argyle. The narrative, which appears in the *Marshall County Banner* of Argyle for January 5, reveals that services were held in private homes and in the schoolhouse until a frame church was erected in 1883.

The story of the "first warrant and first official financial transaction" in Nobles County, covering the years from 1871 to 1873, is outlined in the *Worthington Globe* for February 23. The warrant was issued to Hiram B. Wallace at Graham Lakes for expenses incurred while serving as sheriff. It was discovered with the sheriff's expense account when documents in the county auditor's vault were refiled recently. In the *Globe* for February 28 appears a facsimile reproduction of part of the second issue of the *National Colony Journal*, which was issued at Toledo, Ohio, in January, 1872, to promote the settlement that became Worthington. Illustrated "Stories of Early Days" in Nobles County are contributed by Perry Carter to the *Globe* of January 29 and February 5.

The growth of Faribault as an industrial center since 1854, when a steam sawmill was erected there by J. G. and H. Y. Scott, is traced in the *Faribault Daily News* for January 24. Among the early industrial plants described are a brewery, a furniture factory, a brick yard, several flour mills, a woolen mill, and a nursery. The career of a blacksmith, Mr. Joseph Benjamin, who has practiced his trade at Northfield for fifty years, is described in an article in the *News* for February 23.

The marking of historic sites in and around Duluth is being planned by a committee of which Mr. Arthur L. Roberts is chairman and on which are serving representatives of the Chamber of Commerce, the St. Louis County Historical Society, the National Youth Administration, the Kiwanis Club, and various other societies. A tentative list of sites to be marked appears in the *Duluth Herald* for January 29. Included are the Duluth ship canal, the portage on Minnesota Point, the Merritt home, the Cody house, and the site of the Fond du Lac mission school.

A "Historical Sketch of the Early Settlements of the Township of Cedar Lake, Scott County" is contributed by W. J. Casey to the *Jordan Independent* of February 9. From the arrival of the first settlers, Michael Flynn and Thomas O'Donnell, in 1855, the writer traces the story of an area that has "remained strictly rural" and that "has had neither railroads nor municipal activities within its borders." He gives attention, however, to the development of churches, schools, and post offices, and to political, social, and agricultural activities. A valuable appendix gives a list of "Land Filings on Record in the U. S. Land Office" for Cedar Lake Township from 1855 to 1874. Under the title *A History of Cedar Lake Township*, Mr. Casey's narrative has been published also as a small pamphlet (1939), accompanied by a map of the township.

The first of a series of articles on the early history of Steele County is contributed by John R. Hartwig to the *Blooming Prairie Times* of March 9. The author, who is county recorder of deeds, draws upon records in his care for an account of "'Abandoned' Towns in Steele County," villages that were platted in the 1850's and that failed to materialize.

A booklet on *Wabasha County* by Franklyn Curtiss-Wedge is one of a series of *Minnesota County Histories* that is being issued by the Minnesota Federal Writers' Project under the sponsorship of the state department of education (71 p.). It reviews the story of Wabasha County in simple terms for pupils in the grades, with stories of the native red men, of French exploration, of the fur trade, of steam-boating, of pioneer settlement, and of frontier social life.

Catholic congregations at Jordan, Sleepy Eye, Norwood, and Springfield are the subjects of articles in the *Wanderer* of St. Paul for March 2, and parishes in Waseca County and at Belle Plaine are described in the issue of the same paper for March 16. The activities of the Franciscans, dating back to 1875, are stressed in the accounts of Jordan and Belle Plaine.

A historical sketch of the Long Lake Farmers' Club of Echols in Watonwan County, presented by Mrs. W. G. Monroe at a meeting of the organization on December 30, is published in the *Watonwan County Plaindealer* of St. James for January 12. The club's social

activities, which included the establishment of a camp for girls, are described by the writer.

With some brief notes on pioneer "Concerns Still Doing Business" in Winona, William Codman, historian of the Winona County Old Settlers Association, opens a series of articles in the *Winona Republican-Herald* for January 6. Among the subjects of later sketches are the "Great Fire of 1862" (January 14), some buildings erected after the fire (January 20), parks in the county (February 3), and the line of chiefs bearing the name of Wabasha (February 10 and 17). Harold Peterson is the author of a history of the Winona Little Theater Group, which was organized in 1925 and has since produced fifty plays, appearing in installments in the *Republican-Herald* from March 11 to 14. In the same paper for March 29 is an account of a volume of records kept in Winona Township since its organization in 1858.



